104

U.S. POLICY TOWARDS CYPRUS

Y 4. IN 8/16: C 99

U.S. Policy Towards Cyprus, 104-1 H...

HEARING

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

ONE HUNDRED FOURTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

JULY 19, 1995

Printed for the use of the Committee on International Relations

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U.S. POLICY TOWARDS CYPRUS

WEDNESDAY, JULY 19, 1995

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS,
Washington, DC.

The committee met, pursuant to call, at 11:10 a.m. in room 2172, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Benjamin A. Gilman (chairman) presiding.

Chairman GILMAN. The committee will come to order.

I am reading now from a note from Assistant Secretary of State, Bureau of European and Canadian Affairs, Richard Holbrooke who states,

> I am sorry, but Bosnia has hijacked the day which could be decisive. Thanks for your understanding and support and friendship. Secretary Holbrooke.

Gentlemen, we welcome you to the committee and we ask you to proceed and read your full statement or put the statement in the record and summarize your statement. We will ask Ambassador Williams if you would start the proceeding; Ambassador Williams.

STATEMENT OF AMBASSADOR JAMES WILLIAMS, SPECIAL COORDINATOR FOR CYPRUS, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Ambassador WILLIAMS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and members of the committee. It is a pleasure to appear before you for the first time in my capacity as special coordinator for Cyprus and to be joined by my distinguished colleague, Ambassador Richard Boucher, our Ambassador to Cyprus.

Before we left the State Department a short while ago we spoke briefly with Assistant Secretary Holbrooke who asked us also to convey personally for him his profound apologies for having been called away at the last minute.

Mr. Chairman, the administration of President Clinton is committed to a just, lasting and permanent solution to the problem of Cyprus. I have worked off and on with this problem for much of my 30-year career in the Foreign Service of the United States and I have never seen an administration work harder and show more commitment toward achieving the goal that we all seek. A solution that will provide for security of both the Greek Cypriot and the Turkish Cypriot communities on that island within a bizonal and bicommunal federation that is anchored solidly within Europe.

In our pursuit of that goal we all work very closely with the Secretary General of the United Nations who has special responsibilities under his mandate from the Security Council and, in particular, in recent months with the leadership of the European Union,

which by its historic decisions of March 6 to set in prospect accession negotiations for Cyprus has created what we believe is an historic opportunity to motivate the attainment of an intercommunal agreement which will enable a federated bizonal and bicommunal Cyprus state to join the European Union, with both the benefits and responsibilities.

Mr. Chairman, the interests of the United States of America in Cyprus, as members of this committee have just shown, are considerable. The island is located at a crossroads in a vital region of strategic interest to our country. And, therefore, a peaceful and stable Cyprus is important fundamentally to our interests in that area. The United States has long strived to remove the Cyprus question as a potential point of conflict and friction between two historic and close NATO friends and allies, Greece and Turkey.

We also have humanitarian interest in the well-being of the people of the two communities. We have all witnessed the hardships, personal and economic and otherwise, that those communities have suffered over past decades. And we have, thanks to the legislation passed and signed into law last fall, a new and special humanitarian interest, an intensified interest in locating the missing persons, five American citizens missing since the hostilities of the summer of 1974. I am happy to say that that operation to find the missing persons of American citizenship is now up and running on the island. And Ambassador Dillon, whom I believe some of the members of this committee know, will soon take up office there.

Mr. Chairman, U.S. policy toward Cyprus seeks to achieve the following broad goals: a bizonal, bicommunal federated Republic of Cyprus established as a firm member of the European Union; and intercommunal agreement based on consent and participation of both communities; a secure future for all Cypriots with minimum military forces on the island; a stable future based upon an agreement that will not unravel; a prosperous future co-owned by Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots alike through cooperation with the United States and the West; and a future, in short, that allows the people of Cyprus and the state of Cyprus to play their full role as an island of stability in a critical and sensitive region of the world.

Mr. Chairman, to demonstrate the resolve of our Government to facilitate and to reenergize efforts to find a solution to the Cyprus problem, and to strongly support the efforts of the Secretary General of the United Nations and others toward that end, President Clinton earlier this year appointed the distinguished lawyer from New York City, Richard I. Beattie, as his personal emissary for the Cyprus problem. This is the first Presidential emissary for Cyprus since Clark Clifford held that distinguished position in the administration of President Carter.

Assisted by Ambassador Boucher and me and others, Mr. Beattie has already visited Cyprus, Greece and Turkey. He has met the leaders of both communities, the leaders of the Government of Greece and the leaders of the Government of Turkey. In May, Special Presidential Emissary Beattie presided over exploratory talks in London where representatives of the two communities attempted to identify areas of common ground. We continue to help the two sides in their quest to identify those areas which we hope will

allow for resumption of direct negotiations between Greek Cypriot leader Clerides and Turkish Cypriot leader Denktash.

Mr. Chairman, yesterday Assistant Secretary Holbrooke convened a meeting in the State Department of our Ambassadors to the region, specifically to Greece, Turkey and Cyprus, Presidential Emissary Beattie, me and others, as well as private individuals, the purpose of which was to find a way whereby the United States might help end the sad division of the island of Cyprus. All agreed that a very major catalyst for intercommunal negotiations is indeed the prospect of membership in the European Union through accession talks that will begin 6 months after conclusion of the intergovernmental conference. We believe, indeed, that such membership of a federated Cyprus in the European Union would provide major economic and other benefits to both communities and anchor Cyprus more firmly in the West.

I want to make clear that all of us engaged in this pursuit look for your continued support and ideas and encouragement. We shall continue our efforts to encourage both sides to make necessary compromises to reach a solution which will include, we hope, early implementation of the confidence building measures. Presidential Emissary Beattie, Assistant Secretary Holbrooke, Ambassador Boucher, I and many others are working diligently to end the division of Cyprus and to support actively efforts by the United Nations to bring into existence a bizonal, bicommunal Federal Republic of Cyprus. Our work with the European Union in that regard is critical. It will continue.

I would welcome any comments or questions from members of this committee, Mr. Chairman. And I thank you very much for your attention.

[The prepared statement of Ambassador Williams appears in the appendix.]

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Ambassador, for your comments. Ambassador Boucher.

STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE RICHARD BOUCHER, U.S. AMBASSADOR TO CYPRUS

Ambassador BOUCHER. Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, thank you very much for inviting me to be here today. I have a somewhat more complete statement that I would like to see entered into the record. But if I can, I will just make a few remarks at this moment and go to questions.

Chairman GILMAN. Without objection the complete statement will be entered in the record.

Ambassador BOUCHER. Thank you. We in the Embassy in Nicosia work on three levels that I would like to describe. The first is what I would call real country relations, and that is remembering that Cyprus is not just a problem but it is a place with real people and a country that we have a strong relationship with. We work on commercial matters, law enforcement matters, political issues, U.N. votes, all the normal stuff of diplomatic business and U.S. interests in Cyprus and in the region, which are considerable.

Second of all, we work on the fundamentals of the peace. We work through the USAID program with the $15 million we have to send students to study in the United States. And to support

bicommunal activities that get people from both communities, Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots together in areas of health, of forestry, of agriculture, of environment, of town planning and in discussions of conflict resolution and other issues. I put our efforts to support the missing persons investigation in this category as well.

And third of all, we work on the negotiating process where I play an active role in going back and forth between President Clerides and Mr. Denktash, examining the issues, working with others in the communities to discuss their concerns and the issues. In that way, our work supports the United Nations effort and, of course, is part of the broader effort that we make coordinated with Jim Williams and Dick Beattie and Dick Holbrooke and others in the U.S. Government who have put so much emphasis on these issues.

So with that, Mr. Chairman, I would be glad to take questions from you or members of the committee.

[The prepared statement of Ambassador Boucher appears in the appendix.]

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you for your remarks. I would like to address both panelists.

The Greek Cypriots repeatedly refer to Ankara as the source of the solution, somewhat ignoring the Turkish Cypriot compatriots. Would greater sensitivity to Turkish Cypriot concerns contribute to any climate more conducive? Or is it true that the final solution remains in Ankara?

Ambassador WILLIAMS. Well, I think, Mr. Chairman, if I could have a first crack of that, the Greek Cypriots do indeed show concern for the Turkish Cypriot concerns. The Turkish Cypriot community, led by Mr. Denktash for some years now, is a reality. Its political equality is one of the pillars on which the intercommunal efforts are proceeding, supported by the United Nations and by us.

There is no question at the same time that the issue of Cyprus is a national issue for Turkey, very much as it is for Greece. And, therefore, the voice of the Turkish Government must be heard in this. And given that Turkey does have troops in the island, its role in an eventual settlement is considerable. But I do not think it would be realistic to seek a solution with just one or the other Turkish party. It has to be a solution that meets the needs of both the Turkish Cypriots and the Government of Turkey.

Chairman GILMAN. Would it help to have someone from the Turkish Government sit in on any negotiations instead of just Mr. Denktash being there representing the Turkish Cypriots? We always find Mr. Denktash running back to Ankara to get his views heard and to get instructions. Would it not be a lot simpler to have him sitting in, someone from the Turkish Government sitting right at the table?

Ambassador WILLIAMS. That is a formula that some years ago was tried. There were representatives of the governments of both Turkey and Greece in the intercommunal talks in the early 1970's on essentially constitutional issues before the hostilities and the cataclysmic changes of the summer of 1974.

Mr. Denktash, as you indicated, is in very close touch with the Government of Turkey. It has generally been felt that the current format is the best way to proceed. I would not preclude such a

presence, but I do not believe that is the general desire of the participants at this time.

Ambassador BOUCHER. Mr. Chairman, the only thing I would add to that is the fact that I think at present the parties are comfortable with the idea of direct talks between Mr. Clerides and Mr. Denktash as the prime vehicle for achieving some of the basic and fundamental political breakthroughs that we need to achieve next.

Chairman GILMAN. Let me address to both of you, are prospects for confidence building measures dead?

Ambassador WILLIAMS. No, sir. I would not say they are dead. They are very much a part of what the United Nations through its channels and we through ours are trying to achieve. They are fundamentally important, we believe, for jump starting the process toward a final agreement. But at the same time it is very clear that absent an understanding between the two communities on the political context of the final agreement or the political direction of the overall negotiations, the prospects for implementation are virtually nil at this stage.

Chairman GILMAN. Is there any pending discussions now or any ongoing discussions about an overall settlement?

Ambassador BOUCHER. Mr. Chairman, if I can take that one. We have had during the course of this year a number of discussions, including the discussions that Mr. Beattie had in Nicosia and Ankara, talks in London in May—the exploratory talks. I have kept up my contacts and discussions between the two leaders.

The effort right now on our part and on the U.N.'s part is to establish some common ground so that we can have a basis for successful discussions between the two leaders. That involves an attempt to come up with the basic framework or the elements of a package that would include both confidence building measures and political understandings. We are now trying to do the preparation that would be necessary to do that successfully in a meeting between the leaders.

So we have a continuing effort at this point that involves primarily the Ambassadors in the field, and contacts that Mr. Beattie and others have directly here. We have determined that we will continue this effort and then move on I think to a renewed effort directed by Mr. Beattie in the fall.

Chairman GILMAN. So at this point we have no direct negotiations going on?

Ambassador BOUCHER. There are direct negotiations between the two, between the two leaders of the two communities at this point.

Chairman GILMAN. What is the likelihood that direct talks between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots could resume at an earlier date?

Ambassador BOUCHER. Well, at this point Mr. Denktash has indicated his willingness to talk any time. And Mr. Clerides has said that he feels it is necessary to prepare by establishing this common ground. That is really where we have been working to try to get a basis not just to get them together but rather to get them together successfully.

Chairman GILMAN. Can you give us some assessment of the next generation of political leadership in both communities? Who do you

feel would succeed the present leaders, Mr. Clerides and Mr. Denktash?

Ambassador BOUCHER. There is a lot of politics on both sides and there are a lot of potential candidates to succeed on both sides. I think what is important to point out is that there are democratic elections that exist in both communities as a way of choosing their leaders, there are up-and-coming politicians, some of whom range the political spectrum on both sides. I think the consensus in both communities is largely in favor of reaching a settlement.

I think there are, frankly, overwhelming majorities on both sides that are looking for a settlement. There are large majorities on both sides that are looking for a settlement that provides security and a chance to live, a chance largely to control their own affairs, the kind of settlement that we are talking about to both communities.

And so, I cannot tell you who is going to be the next generation of leaders. But I think I can tell you that it will be one probably on both sides that reflects a desire to reach a settlement on a fair basis.

Chairman GILMAN. I have had a number of complaints about the fact that Greek American Cypriots have not been able to cross the border in order to visit their former residences. Yet they allow the Cypriot people to cross the border but American Cypriots, American Greek Cypriots are not allowed to cross the border. Can you tell us what the status is? I have taken that up with Mrs. Ciller. She said they would correct it, but I have not heard of any movement in that direction.

Ambassador BOUCHER. Congressman, you and I have discussed this several times. And I know it is a matter of concern to you. And, indeed, I have taken it up many times with the Turkish Cypriot authorities. The point that we make, obviously, is that Americans are Americans and you should treat all of them the same.

In fact, we just heard last Friday from the Turkish Cypriots that they intended to treat Greek Cypriot—Americans of Greek Cypriot or Maronite origin—the same as other American citizens. Third country nationals of Greek Cypriot origin would be treated the same as other third country nationals. This would be the kind of thing that we have been pressing for. So we will be looking next to see its implementation and how it works and we will remain in touch with you to see it as it is carried out.

Chairman GILMAN. So we can notify that population that they can go across the border and visit their former residences?

Ambassador BOUCHER. That is what we have been told. Now let us see if it works.

Chairman GILMAN. All right. Thank you. My time has run.

The ranking minority member Mr. Hamilton.

Mr. HAMILTON. Gentlemen, I thank you for being here today. I must say to you that this problem of Cyprus has been a source of very great frustration for me and so far as I know most Members of Congress. I think if you asked members their dominant impression of Cyprus over the past few years it is that we are not getting anywhere on it, that no progress is being made.

Your testimony today could have been given 20 years ago. It could have been given 15 years ago. It could have been given 5 years ago. I do not blame you for that.

I note the absence of Mr. Holbrooke. I do not blame him for being absent today. I know he has got an important matter on the agenda. And I am not unacquainted with some of the problems that he has to deal with this morning. But it kind of captures for us the problem, does it not? The top ranking European official is not able to make the hearing because he has more important things to do.

And I must say to you that is the kind of a sense I have had over a long, long period of time, that you always have more important things to do. We have got four Ambassadors working on this problem, Ambassador Holbrooke, Ambassador Boucher, Ambassador Williams and Ambassador Beattie. I do not understand why we need all those officials.

It has been my impression for a long time that the U.S. Government is not willing to give high priority to Cyprus. We hear constantly from you about process. And we heard it again this morning. Visits are going to take place. Exploratory talks are going to take place. The appointment of a new high emissary by the President. More meetings. More visitors. Frankly, I have seen it and heard it for 20 years. And I cannot see one inch of progress. We have solved problems all over the world and dealt with them but I do not think this problem has moved off the dime.

So I have enormous frustration with this problem. And I think in part at least the problem is because the U.S. Government does not give high enough priority to resolving it. I do not doubt the intentions of any of you. I do not doubt the skills and capabilities that you bring to it. And I do not blame you in any way, those of you that are before me. I do not think this problem of Cyprus is going to be resolved until the American Government gives it a much higher priority than we have done in the past. And I am not persuaded we have given it a very high priority.

You may comment.

Ambassador WILLIAMS. Well, Congressman, I would like to start by saying we share totally your frustration that this problem has been on the agenda of the world and of us for so many years without progress. We all agree on that. It is a difficult, frustrating, intractable problem.

But I want you to know that the absence of Assistant Secretary Holbrooke should not be construed by any manner or means as indicating a business as usual, lack of concern, low priority approach to this problem. On the contrary, sir, Assistant Secretary Holbrooke and the Secretary and others have been very clear in their analysis and their strategic prescriptions for the post-cold war era that the problem of Cyprus is central to our overall efforts to improve and better the relationship between Greece and Turkey, and thus to shore up a very important part of real estate in a rough neighborhood with instability on each of its borders. We think that, so we are under no illusions this is easy. Other well-intentioned men and women from prior administrations of both parties have tried before us and have made a contribution. But the overall goal has eluded us.

Mr. HAMILTON. I do not have any doubt about your intention.

Ambassador WILLIAMS. What I am saying the effort is——

Mr. HAMILTON. I do not have any doubt about Secretary Holbrooke's interest and intention. I do not have any doubt about it. I understand why he is not here this morning. He does have important things to do. I do not doubt that. And I in no way cast any criticism at him. I am just saying to you it is indicative of the problem for 20 years. You folks always have something more important to do.

Ambassador WILLIAMS. With respect——

Mr. HAMILTON. And Cyprus gets kicked around. I can hardly remember a President or a Secretary of State addressing the problem of Cyprus. I do not know what the strategy of the U.S. Government is to deal with the problem of Cyprus.

You talk to me about procedure. You talk to me about process. You do not tell me anything about substance. You do not tell me what the policy of the U.S. Government is or the strategy of the U.S. Government is to resolve the Cyprus problem. I do not know what it is. And I am reasonably well versed in these matters.

Ambassador WILLIAMS. The President has shown——

Mr. HAMILTON. What are you going to do to get the parties off the dime in Cyprus?

Ambassador BOUCHER. Mr. Hamilton, maybe I can take over the answer to that question. I think, first of all, that we have brought some factors into play that have not been in play before. We recognize that this is a frustrating problem that has eluded many people in the past. I am sure that Mr. Acheson and Mr. Ball and Mr. Sisco and many others for the last 30 years who have worked on this would have liked to have more results to report to committees like this and not just the process that we are going through.

We have been able in this administration to bring some factors into play that were not in play before. The first, I think, is the commitment of the administration and the fire power of the administration from the President on down. The President himself has consistently shown an interest and worked on this issue, as have the Secretary and those of us down below.

The second is the European factor. The question of membership in the European Union for Cyprus has come on the agenda. I think you will know because you are well versed in these things that the United States supported this process. We believe that the progress of Cyprus toward Europe is a positive factor for the negotiating process and creates incentives on both sides to reach an agreement more rapidly than they might otherwise do.

We also believe, frankly, that the progress of Turkey toward Europe is important in that regard and we have supported customs union between Turkey and Europe. So we have brought, I think, other factors into play that do change the situation somewhat, that change the pressures on the parties and that, hopefully, give us a certain incentive to reach a rapid conclusion.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Boucher, if I may interrupt you. With regard to your first point, the commitment of the administration, I do not have any doubt about that either. If you, if you ask the President or the Secretary of State "Are you serious about trying to deal with Cyprus?" They are going to say yes. And they mean it.

Ambassador BOUCHER. But it is more than that.

Mr. HAMILTON. Look, I have heard every administration for the past 20 years say exactly the same thing: "We have a high level commitment to resolving the problem of Cyprus." I do not doubt your sincerity. I know you are sincere. But I also know that for 20 years we have not made any progress on this problem. And my frustration level on it is very high.

Let me emphasize my words are not in any way critical of you gentlemen. And it is certainly not critical of Ambassador Holbrooke. I think you are highly qualified, highly skilled, very able diplomats. And these things are beyond your control. I understand that. But I am just letting you know the sense of my feeling about this problem.

Frankly, I have come to the conclusion that until the problem of Cyprus is on the agenda of the Secretary of State and on the agenda of the President of the United States on a regular basis it is not going to move. We can appoint special Ambassadors and special emissaries from now until kingdom come and it isn't going to move. It has to have the highest level attention and consideration of our Government. And that is probably true of some other governments around the world as well.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Ambassador WILLIAMS. If I could just add, sir, that issue has a—May I say one more second, sir? Could I add one thing?

Chairman GILMAN. Yes, Mr. Ambassador.

Ambassador WILLIAMS. Excuse me. I just want to assure you, Congressman, that the issue of Cyprus, the problem of Cyprus has a very high priority in discussions by President Clinton with world leaders, including the leadership of Turkey, and in the discussions of Secretary Christopher and others. That, if you take the European Bureau alone in terms of the issues on our plate, after Bosnia which is in critical mass right now, and probably NATO expansion which has many, many dimensions, the Cyprus issue in all of its ramifications given its central role, as I have tried to outline for Greece and Turkey, has the priority. That is, it is one of the three or four most important issues for our bureau. And the White House shows a keen interest in it from the President on down.

So I want to assure you, although there is process involved here, to be sure, with every meeting, with every visit, with every letter, Cyprus is a very important part of that process. And we are determined to make progress if it is humanly possible.

Mr. HAMILTON. Good luck.

Ambassador WILLIAMS. Thank you, sir.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Hamilton.

Mr. Roth.

Mr. ROTH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I just have a short question.

I was, I listened carefully when you answered the ranking member. Recently you said "if . . . humanly possible." Could it be that there are some problems that are not solvable? You mentioned Bosnia. We had one person from the State Department once tell me that the Serbs and Muslims will kill each other until they get tired and when they get tired they will stop. And maybe that is the same with Cyprus. Maybe there is no solution to the problem? Is there

such a thing that there are some problems in the world we cannot resolve and probably Bosnia and Cyprus are a couple of examples?

Ambassador WILLIAMS. Well, Congressman, there are problems that are inordinately difficult and have long been viewed as intractable. And Bosnia, the Middle East and Cyprus are among those. But most of the intractable problems in recent years have, if not been solved, been broken up and moved toward resolution or improvement. And I, personally, remain convinced that Cyprus is in that category and can move toward improvement and solution despite the terrible difficulties that have been a part of it for so many decades.

Mr. ROTH. Well, I suppose one has to say that. But let me say, I think that some areas we cannot. I consider myself a realist. As soon as you say you are a realist people talk about isolationism. Fine, isolationist. Yes, we are involved in the world and—but there are some problems that cannot be solved. And I do not believe that Cyprus is a problem that can be solved. That is one of the reasons I was one of six people that voted no against the resolution. Did I make a mistake on that this morning?

Ambassador BOUCHER. I do not think it would be good for us to start counting on which ones of you made mistakes and which did not.

Can I make one comment on the question of insolubility?

Mr. ROTH. Fine.

Ambassador BOUCHER. The point that I would make is there are many problems that we want to solve because they are international relations problems. This is also a problem that we want to solve because there are benefits. There are benefits to the United States in terms of removing the confrontation. There are benefits to the United States in terms of helping Cyprus realize the potential as a regional center, commercial, economic, social, educational, medical whatever sort of center it can become. And that requires a harmonious relationship between the Turkish Cypriots and the Greek Cypriots.

Second of all, there are distinct benefits for each community in solving the Cyprus problem, which hangs over their heads and keeps them from realizing their potentials. Different benefits perhaps with each community. But really one of the things we lose sight of is there is a lot to be gained by all of us, and particularly by the people on the island.

Mr. ROTH. Look, doesn't it all boil down to basically this, if you have a will for peace you can have peace and you resolve these problems——

Ambassador BOUCHER. Yes.

Mr. ROTH [continuing]. But if there is no will for peace you are not going to be able to impose a solution? Is that not what it really boils down to?

Ambassador BOUCHER. Yes.

Mr. ROTH. Thank you. You know, we have had these London talks, was it not in May or thereabouts that we had London talks?

Ambassador WILLIAMS. Late May. Yes, sir.

Mr. ROTH. What was the final upshot of that? Are we going to have other talks or——

Ambassador WILLIAMS. Well, that was the first round of talks under Presidential Emissary Beattie. Both Ambassador Boucher and I were there to assist him and take part. Regrettably, the upshot was that the talks in London revealed that the gap between the two sides was even wider than we had believed to be the case.

We had hoped we would be able to build on the progress that had emerged last October in a series of working dinners under Mr. Feissel auspices between Clerides and Denktash. But in London it was quite clear that the gap had widened. And rather than continue with a next round early on which had been the earlier plan, Mr. Beattie decided to regroup, review the bidding, return to the region at an early date and decide where to go from there.

So I would, at this stage we have not decided if there will be a second round or under what conditions. Mr. Beattie will make that decision in the context of his trip to the region.

Mr. ROTH. Thank you very much.

Ambassador WILLIAMS. Thank you.

Chairman GILMAN. I thank the gentleman for his input.

Mr. Torricelli.

Mr. TORRICELLI. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Chairman, let me begin by identifying myself with the remarks of Mr. Hamilton. In my experience in this committee I have never heard remarks that I thought more succinctly reviewed an issue, more articulately stated or with which I agreed more. And I would like to begin where Mr. Hamilton concluded.

Like Mr. Hamilton, I have no two closer friends in the administration than Mr. Holbrooke or Mr. Beattie. They are fine public servants. They were personal friends before they came to the administration. They will be personal friends after they leave the administration. But the problem is with neither of their performances but, indeed, on an entirely different level. The Cyprus problem is not being solved because, it is my judgment, there is neither the will nor the investment of effort to solve the problem. This is the ultimate self-fulfilling prophecy. The investment is not being made because people believe that it cannot be solved.

That is an error. This problem both can and must be resolved. And soon. The real answer, of course, lies in that there is increasing international leverage to resolve this problem. Discussions that some of us had informally yesterday made clear the administration has an interest and recognizes the connection between Turkish activity on Cyprus and a variety of other Turkish objectives in the region. I think it can be made and stated much more succinctly. The United States should, in my judgment, withhold any cooperation or effort on behalf of Turkey with regards to its ambitions in Europe unless and until there is a Turkish military withdrawal and a larger settlement on Cyprus. Period.

It would be inconceivable that the United States would be party to Turkish accession into Europe by our informal cooperation and good offices while Turkey is occupying a sovereign nation. Inconceivable. The statement to Turkey should be simply if you cooperate on a Cyprus settlement everything is possible. Until then, nothing is possible. And the judgment lies with you.

Now, there is one way to make clear whether or not the administration understands that and will be party to it. The talks, we were

informed yesterday, begin again in the fall between the two parties. At a level of at least the Secretary of State in visiting Ankara and talking about European union, the Cyprus problem will indicate the administration is prepared to make a proper investment to get a settlement and to deliver that message. If there is no such visit, discussion, message before the fall talks then it is clear that those talks and all this diplomatic activity cannot be separated from what Mr. Hamilton suggested is a 20-year record of not honestly dealing with the problem or American citizens who are interested in it.

Like Mr. Hamilton, I feel a revulsion at this process because I do not like to participate in a fraud. And to the extent that Cypriot Americans of all kinds come to my office or the press asks about it, we participate in hearings, I do not feel at the end of the day like an honest person because I feel like I am perpetuating a fraud, telling people we are doing about something when in fact we are not. Holding meetings that are not really designed to come to a conclusion, developing a policy that really has no strategy.

You have a variety of assets in your hands. I will list them for you: the Turkish problems with the Iraqi pipeline; Turkish-Iraqi relations; the Kurdish dilemma; the Armenian-Turkish problem; even Bosnia. It would appear to the rest of the world as a variety of independent crises are all particular difficulties for Turkey. None of them should be discussed absent Turkish cooperation. All of them are elements of a Cyprus settlement. And the notion to me that the United States is going to be of any assistance to Turkey on any of these fronts without Turkish cooperation from Cyprus is inconceivable.

All of my experience on this matter indicates to me that honest Turks and Greeks on Cyprus can get this problem solved if the Turkish military is removed from the equation. And that is our mission, to deliver that message and become engaged.

At long last there is no hiding our role. It will all be clear that by the time the Cypriots get together in the fall the Secretary of State or other high-ranking American official has been in Ankara and delivered this message and applied the proper amount of American pressure and interest, then we are being honest. If Mr. Beattie is sent on mission impossible with no higher level involvement, without that message, then we are not being honest.

And I trust it is not being lost that it is ranking members of the President's own party who are delivering this message to you today. We will not be party to a fraud or a deception. This problem can be resolved and now. You have the will and the interest in doing so. If you do not, that will be clear too.

Mr. Chairman, I know my time has expired. But I would like to invite the response if I could.

Mr. BURTON. Would the gentleman yield just for one second?

Mr. TORRICELLI. If the chairman would permit. I know I do not have the time.

Chairman GILMAN. I will be pleased to yield the gentleman an additional 2 minutes.

Mr. BURTON. Let me just make one brief comment. I hope my colleague, for whom I have the highest respect, will stick around for

my remarks because I have listened patiently to what he has said. I would like to point out a couple of points where we disagree.

Mr. TORRICELLI. I would be glad to.

Gentlemen, would you like to respond?

Chairman GILMAN. The gentleman has 2 additional minutes.

Ambassador WILLIAMS. Yes, be delighted to. Mr. Congressman, the status quo is not acceptable to anybody who deals with the Cyprus problem, not to the Governments of Cyprus and Greece, not to the Turkish Cypriot parties who in the recent election all declared that the status quo had to change and a settlement had to be sought, not to the government in Ankara and certainly not to the Government of the United States of America. That status quo has to be changed in the direction of a settlement, as we have indicated, that meets the needs of both sides, is just and viable and seen as fair.

Now, we, I want to assure you that we do not take the institution of Presidential emissary lightly. Richard Beattie represents the President of the United States of America in this problem. And as such, he has an arsenal of support which he can draw on from the Secretary of State, from the President and from us.

Mr. TORRICELLI. I understand that. This is not about——

Ambassador WILLIAMS. And he will have that.

Mr. ROTH [continuing]. Mr. Beattie. Mr. Beattie may be the best emissary this President has named anywhere. It is not about Mr. Beattie. It is about whether or not Mr. Beattie is going to get the support that he needs.

Ambassador WILLIAMS. I want to tell you, sir, he is going to get the support he needs. He has had it. This is not a mission impossible for a Presidential emissary or a special coordinator. And one of the purposes of our session yesterday with several members and you in that informal talk and earlier in the morning with the Ambassadors from the region was to try to craft, begin to craft an overall strategy that will ensure that when Mr. Beattie returns to the region it is not just for the purpose of travel but with success.

Mr. TORRICELLI. Mr. Ambassador, here is what I am suggesting. My time is short so excuse me if I appear to cut you off. If Mr. Beattie is going and asking for Turkish cooperation on Cyprus in negotiating in good faith while the United States is being cooperative with Turkey in its efforts against the Kurds, which I independently oppose, but nevertheless appearing to act cooperative, and extending our good offices to help Turkey with its ambitions in Europe, I do not know, Ambassador, how you approach a negotiation but I rarely begin a negotiation by helping one of the parties unilaterally while I am asking them to make efforts on my behalf. A serious negotiations means you withhold from one of the parties your cooperation unless and until you have some measure of their cooperation at the table.

Are you prepared here to say today that the United States will withhold cooperation with Turkey on these other bilateral efforts including Europe and make our cooperation on Kurdish issues a factor of Turkey's cooperation on Cyprus?

Ambassador WILLIAMS. By no means am I prepared to say that. We do not have the luxury of addressing these issues in our broad

and complex ties with Turkey sequentially. We have to tackle them all at the same time concurrently.

Mr. TORRICELLI. Well, Ambassador, at least you are an honest man because I think you understand that unless and until you say that none of us are going to believe this is being taken seriously.

Ambassador BOUCHER. Congressman, if I can point out one thing. There is no fraud or deception here. We go to these negotiations and meetings and these hearings as honest men. There is a sincere, honest, vigorous, persistent and consistent effort on the part of the United States to solve the Cyprus problem because it is in our interest and it is in the interest of the people of the region. There is an effort that involves for the first time in 17 years a Presidential emissary. There is an effort that involves the personal time and attention of the President who has raised it consistently in his meetings with Turkish leaders, who has made it an issue that he cares about. And——

Mr. TORRICELLI. But simultaneously is helping Turkey——

Ambassador BOUCHER [continuing]. And, frankly, I would point out to you——

Mr. TORRICELLI. Excuse me. The time, the time is mine, Ambassador. I will yield it to you as required.

But simultaneously will be working to help Turkey get accession into Europe.

Ambassador BOUCHER. Simultaneously will be working a number of issues with different incentives and pressure and carrots and sticks, yes.

Mr. TORRICELLI. And you can understand why some of us think this may not be a strategy that is designed to yield a final result.

Ambassador BOUCHER. I can understand that, yes.

Mr. TORRICELLI. Thank you.

Chairman GILMAN. Mr. Burton.

Mr. BURTON. I approach what I am about to say with trepidation because Mr. Torricelli and I work very closely on some other issues. But we have very strong disagreement on this issue. In 1963 Archbishop Makarios tried to start a process called Enosis, annexing Cyprus to Greece. They kicked the Turkish Cypriots out of the parliamentary process, and a reign of terror on Turkish Cypriots began that lasted for 11 years. The world turned a blind eye. One out of every 120 people were killed—women and children.

And, so, finally Turkey sent troops there to protect the Cypriots. They never invaded the South. They took control of that one-third in the North to protect those people. They never invaded the South.

Turkey has consistantly been our friend. In the Persian Gulf war we asked them for help. They cutoff the oil pipeline. Mr. Torricelli believes we ought to use this as leverage to get them to negotiate on Cyprus. They did that to help us pressure Saddam Hussein. We used their bases for launching pads against Saddam Hussein. In numerous other conflict we have asked them for help: in World War II against the Soviets, they were always there.

I think it is totally improper for us to send a message to the administration that we want them to use clubs to bludgeon our friend, Turkey, into submission, so that they will accept our point of view on Cyprus. However, we ought to work very hard to resolve this problem on Cyprus if it is soluble. It may not be soluble. We

may end up with two states on that island like we have in Korea and other parts of the world and I hope it is soluble. We ought to do everything we can to encourage the parties to work together to solve this problem. But there has to be an absolute guarantee that the Turkish Cypriots are going to be protected.

There is a strong militia on the Greek Cypriot side, and approximately 20,000 Turkish troops on the other side. The reason that the Turkish troops are there is because the Turkish Cypriots are afraid of another reign of terror. They do not want that to happen.

What we should be saying as a Congress is: go to the negotiations, try to find middle ground, and do your best to work this out. There is concern on both sides. On the Turkish Cypriot side this concern is justifiable because of the history of the situation.

So I say to my colleague from New Jersey for whom I have the highest regard, probably higher than any Democrat in the Congress except for maybe Bob——[Laughter.]

You and Bob were both there together with me.

Mr. MENENDEZ. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. BURTON. Yes. That I do not think we should send that kind of a message to the President and to the administration.

Mr. TORRICELLI. Would the gentleman yield for 1 minute?

Mr. BURTON. I will be happy to yield my time.

Mr. TORRICELLI. I thank the gentleman for yielding whom I have the highest regard with the exception of every member except Mr. Menendez. [Laughter.]

I only, I think the gentleman has made a contribution to the debate. I simply want to add for the, for the record that we are all grateful for Turkish cooperation over the years. Turkey has been an important ally of the United States.

In the final analysis the United States must get beyond the point of believing that Turkish cooperation against Saddam Hussein was a gift to the United States or cooperation against the Soviet Union was a concession to the United States. Turkey and the United States joined together in those efforts because it was important for Turkey and for the United States. Turkey had a great deal at stake in preventing Iraqi aggression, and even more at stake in containing communism. I am grateful that we were able to work together.

But that does not excuse Turkish behavior forever. And the United States cannot feel a debt to all these nations forever who primarily acted in their own or mutual interests.

Mr. BURTON. Well.

Mr. TORRICELLI. But I thank the gentleman for yielding and those comments.

Mr. BURTON. Quite frankly, I think Turkey was justified. If you look back, the Treaty of Guarantee signed by the Turkish Cypriots, Turkey, Britain, Greece, the Greek Cypriots clearly stated that any of its guarantors had the right to intervene should the sovereignty of the island be threatened. The sovereignty of the island was threatened in 1963 when Makarios took the step to unite with Greece, and people were being killed. One out of every 120 were killed. This went on for 11 years. Nobody paid any attention. So the Turkish troops went in. And they still feel today that there is a threat, to the Turkish Cypriots.

Until you do away with that threat you are not going to solve this problem. I do not care if you go in there with a meat cleaver. They have to believe that they are secure in their homes in northern Cyprus, and they do not feel that way today. For us to go there and bludgeon them saying, "You do this or else." is not going to solve the problem. It is going to cause further animosity.

We need to get them together and see if there is a mechanism for negotiation. I see the chairman is about to grab the mike, but the ranking Republican—or Democrat talked for 15 minutes and I want a little bit more time.

Chairman GILMAN. The gentleman is granted an additional minute.

Mr. BURTON. Maybe you could work it out by having a tacit military force there or a small military force on both sides. Work it out at the conference table. I do not know what the solution is, but I do know that we have a penchant of bludgeoning our friends and embracing our enemies. I even cited the movie "The Mouse That Roared." There is a lot of truth to that movie. If you are an enemy of the United States, you are going to get help. If you are a friend, you get kicked in the teeth. I think that is wrong.

Turkey has been a great friend and ally. They did not act in the Persian Gulf war just for their own benefit. We should not be penalizing them for something they believe very strongly. They have friends and relatives on that island. They had friends and relatives who were killed during those 11 years between 1963 and 1974. They are afraid it is going to happen again. There are no guarantees it will not if they pull their troops out. Those guarantees have to be there, and that is the Gordian knot that these people are facing. How do they get the guarantees that are necessary to protect lives and property so that everybody can feel safe? Until they can cut that Gordian knot, we are not going to solve this problem no matter what we do in this Congress.

I think sending messages to our Turkish friends that we are going to force them to do it or else they will not get this or that is not the way to do it.

I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank the gentleman for his remarks.

Mr. Engel.

Mr. ENGEL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I want to identify myself with the remarks of Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Torricelli. I think both were right on target.

And let me say to my friend Mr. Burton that I generally agree with the principle that we ought to reward friends. I think that is an important concept of U.S. policy. But I also think that when we believe friends are doing something wrong we have an obligation to say it to those friends. For many years racist South Africa was an ally of the United States, supported us in the United Nations, generally was supportive of our policies against the Soviet Union. It did not stop many of us from saying to South Africa that their apartheid policies were wrong. And, indeed, the United States did help change those policies and helped change that country.

Great Britain is perhaps our closest ally. Yet many of us feel that what they have been doing in the north of Ireland is terribly wrong and have pointed it out time and time again. Indeed, during the

Vietnam war many of our allies, Britain and France, pointed out that they thought we were wrong.

So I think it behooves us to tell our friends and allies that we think they are wrong. And the frustration that we have been hearing today is that years of occupation have passed and nothing has changed. And when things are moving to change in different parts of the world, South Africa is one, the Middle East is another, we hope there is some change in the Irish situation, I cannot accept the fact that this is an insolvable problem as Mr. Roth said. I believe that all problems are solvable if there is the will and the way. And I think that if the United States shows the will and the way that these problems can be solved.

The fact is that Turkey sent troops to the north of Cyprus. Whatever they might have felt the justification was, they are the ones occupying a third of the island. If there was justification in 1974, and I do not think there was, but even if there was I certainly find it hard to believe that 21 years later there is the same sort of justification. The situation changes. I think that nobody can say that there can be a solution to the problem of Cyprus unless and until Turkish troops are removed from the island.

Not only have Turkish troops occupied a third of the island, but Turkey has sent its nationals into Cyprus, into the northern third of the island to colonialize it, to live there, to make sure that there is a permanent Turkish presence there, to shore up their presence. So it is not simply a matter of trying to protect the Turkish Cypriots that are there. I think that the intentions are unfortunately are much greater than that.

Now, I would like to ask our Ambassadors that last year, as you know, Congress passed a bill I introduced directing the President to investigate the fate of five missing Americans and others on Cyprus. I am pleased that we have begun the investigation. I am wondering if you could give us more detail on the status of the investigation and how long do you think the investigation is going to take and do you believe we have the resources necessary to carry out the investigation?

Ambassador BOUCHER. Thank you, Congressman. The investigation on missing persons is up and running, as you say. We have appointed Ambassador Dillon to take charge of the overall effort. He has with him an investigator, Mr. Ed Lee, who has experience in our diplomatic security bureau as a security officer in Nicosia. So we have a combination of, shall we say, diplomatic and investigatory skills involved. We have started to hire local staff. We have identified the office locations. And they will be out working in Nicosia in August.

In the meantime, we have started to collect and examine the files. We have had two teams already out in Nicosia who have done that. And we have had the effort underway here. They are getting in touch with the family members to talk further with them about it. So we are basically up and running. And they already have made some visits to the island.

I have been able to obtain the political go-ahead from President Clerides and Mr. Denktash on the question of having access to the files and conducting the investigation. So we are up and running and will be full-time up and running in Nicosia starting in August.

Our estimates of how long it will take are somewhat vague at this point. Original surveys of the amount of files and the amount of work led us to conclude it may be 9 to 12 months of effort. We are operating under the promise that we should find out everything we can and follow the evidence wherever it leads, I do not want to set any sort of cutoff date but 9 to 12 months is approximately how long we think it will take.

Mr. ENGEL. Have all parties been fully cooperative? Have there been any parties that have not been cooperative?

Ambassador BOUCHER. No. At this point we have had approval for everything we have needed.

Mr. ENGEL. Have we preliminarily learned anything about the missing Americans?

Ambassador BOUCHER. Not at this point. I would say we are still at the stage of reviewing the files and the existing information. So we have not developed anything new.

Mr. ENGEL. Has any of the investigation been taking place outside of Cyprus?

Ambassador BOUCHER. Again, not at this point. We have—well, outside of Cyprus meaning in the United States, yes. We have, as I said, contacted families, collected files in the United States as well.

Mr. ENGEL. Can you tell me what is the status of Cyprus' accession to the European Union and also what is the status of Turkey's desire to have some kind of affiliation with the European Union?

Ambassador WILLIAMS. The European Union, Congressman, on March 6 took two decisions which are separate but very importantly complementary. One was to set a date for the commencement of accession negotiations between the Republic of Cyprus and the European Union leading toward membership. And the date was set as 6 months after the end of a conference that will begin next year of the 15 members of the European Union called the Intergovernmental Conference.

Now, candidly, nobody knows, we talk to the Europeans regularly on this, just how long that Intergovernmental Conference will last but probably about a year or more. Six months after that would probably put us at the end of 1997 or early 1998 for the commencement of negotiations for accession of Cyprus to join the European Union. It is our profound hope, and a key element of the strategy of this administration for approaching the Cyprus problem, that that prospect of starting accession talks roughly 2½ years from now can be used with skill and political will to motivate all sides, the two sides, excuse me, to reach an intercommunal agreement which will product a federal state that will be able to accede to membership.

With regard to Turkey, sir, the other decision taken by the European Union on March 6 was to create a customs union with Turkey that is a step short of full membership. And that customs union has to be ratified by the European Parliament before it goes into effect on January 1.

Now, quite candidly, the Government of Turkey is now engaged in a massive effort to pass a package of human rights and democratization legislation which would address directly concerns of members of the European Parliament as well as significant elements of

the body politic in Turkey. Passage of those laws and constitutional amendments by the Ciller administration would create a more favorable climate for consideration of the customs union by the European Parliament.

The date for that vote, sir, has not been set but is likely to be late this year, perhaps December.

Mr. ENGEL. Well, I just want to say that I think that the desire of Turkey to affiliate with the European Union presents us, I think, with an opportunity to push them for a resolution of the Cyprus problem. I think that it would be foolish of us not to attempt to link the two, foolish of us not to attempt to use leverage. I agree with what Mr. Torricelli said. And perhaps, just perhaps that gives us a change in the stalemate that has gone on for 21 years.

Ambassador WILLIAMS. The prospect of bringing Turkey more closely into the Western European family opens many possibilities, Congressman, including on Cyprus and both between the Europeans and Turkey and between ourselves and Turkey. But our first priority is as friends of both the Europeans and Turkey, to see that the Ciller government is able to pass this very complex and massive program of legislative and constitutional reform.

Mr. ENGEL. We just want to make sure that Cyprus is not always seventh on the list of seven subjects that we discuss with Turkey. And that has, I think, been a major concern. And you have heard it in the frustrations of Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Torricelli and myself.

Ambassador BOUCHER. Congressman, if I can say, we agree with you. We agree it requires a high level and sustained effort from the administration. We think you have that. We agree that it requires work and help from all parties, including in Ankara. And we work to get that. And we do agree that the European Union factor, both in terms of Turkey's progress in that direction and Cyprus' progress in that direction is an important change.

Chairman GILMAN. The gentleman's time has expired.

Mr. Menendez.

Mr. MENENDEZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman GILMAN. I just would like to remind my colleagues that we do have another panel. So please be brief.

Mr. Menendez.

Mr. MENENDEZ. Mr. Chairman, I will tell you what, I will limit myself to the 5 minutes and I will not go beyond that.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you.

Mr. MENENDEZ. I will maybe even do better.

I would like to appreciate the fact that both of our Ambassadors have been here, have been forthright in their answers. Ambassador Boucher, I look forward to meeting with you tomorrow. And also to pursue what you told the committee earlier in response to Mr. Gilman's question about Americans who are of Cypriot descent being able to cross the Green Line, I will look forward to testing whether that is going to be a reality in August when I go to Cyprus. So, hopefully, that will work and that will be a positive sign.

And I would like to ask you with reference to your original opening statement—you mentioned bicommunal contacts. Could you describe briefly for the committee how those go? Are they anticipated

easily done? Are they—do they go well in the process of the occasions in which you hold them? How would you classify them?

[The prepared statement of Mr. Menendez appears in the appendix.]

Ambassador BOUCHER. They are I would say by-and-large very successful. Cypriots have no problem relating to each other on an individual basis. They get along well and they involve both practical, I think, discussions as well as social contacts. And, you know, it is a small place and they all know people in common and have certain common histories.

We work with $10 million of our AID program to create vehicles for people to get together and work on subjects that have certain practical benefits like city planning or sewage resources or helping provide better medical care on the island. We also work with some other training and exchanges to get people together for training or contacts where they discuss the issues and the problems between them. And I would say those are quite successful in terms of putting people in contact who otherwise do not have any vehicle to get to know each other.

Mr. MENENDEZ. And the reason why I ask you that question is I sensed from having spoken to those communities that that would be the answer, not knowing what your answer would be, I just sensed that would be the answer. And I think that that goes to the heart of what some of our concerns are.

And I just want to associate myself with the previous comments of Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Torricelli and Mr. Engel and simply say that from our point of view, and I again join Mr. Hamilton in saying there is no question about abilities or desires or goals. But from our point of view, sitting as legislative members of our three branches of government we look at it and I look at a situation in which we see that Cypriots on the island, both Turkish and Greek, can get along together. That has been exemplified in various ways including your bicommunal meetings. We see that we have a situation in which process without progress is to many a process that simply does not work.

And so when we hear about process but we do not see the progress and we do not see it moving forward to the goals that we desire it is a real problem. It adds to the frustration.

I heard your response to Mr. Roth that in fact people have to have the will to have peace. But I think that we can help create that will. I think that is part of what you are trying to do.

But when we hear about the Cypriots' willingness on the island to work with each other, when we hear about, as Mr. Torricelli very adequately described, Turkey being at the epicenter of so many different problems to which the United States can very significantly contribute toward assisting them, when we think about the assistance that we provide to Turkey presently, economically, the assistance that we are providing to them in terms of their integration into the European Union, and when we add to that your own comments that the status quo in Cyprus is not acceptable even to Ankara, and we know that Ankara has an inordinate amount of influence over Mr. Denktash, then the question comes to us, well, then how with all of the moons and the stars so lined up, how is it possible that we cannot make progress?

And, hence, not only the frustration but the real question as to whether or not while we have all of the trappings of seeming concerns, truly are we willing to put the ultimate question? And I would like to get to that question, hopefully, and get a response from you. And that is this, while I do not expect a timetable from you, what are the conditions that you would need to see in order to finally push that button that says, well, now it is time to clearly have the Cyprus issue? What needs to happen?

I am not asking you if it is going to happen in a month. But give us not a timetable but a timetable of circumstances under which the United States, which has many other interests with Turkey, is going to say, OK, it is now clearly time to solve the Cyprus question. Because what I am concerned about is, and I think many other members are concerned, and I will close on this, is that we assist Turkey in an enormous number of ways. We give them assistance in the European Union integration, into the customs union entrance. We assist them in other parts of the world with their problems. We continuously get to a point then that we lose the leverages that we have in what is left in peaceful diplomacy.

And, so, can you give the committee a sense of that?

Ambassador BOUCHER. Let me try. It is a good question. And I think it is the one that if we knew the perfect answer, we could create those conditions and it would happen.

I do want to say about the contacts between Cypriots that we do not lay on them the burden of reaching the political solution. They—we as diplomats and negotiators and leaders of communities have the burden of doing that. And so we think there need to be people who know how to work with each other within whatever political framework is worked out. How do we get to that political framework?

I think, first of all, it requires commitment and sustained effort on the part of the administration, as many people here did say, and other outside parties like the United Nations who are involved.

Second of all, it requires the assistance of governments in Ankara and Athens, and it requires a commitment of Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot leaders to reach that solution. To get that, it is going to take a clear appreciation of the benefits, a clear appreciation that it is possible indeed to have an agreement that means security, political equality, and essential sovereignty to Cyprus, and all of the other elements that we have brought into play.

And, finally, I think you need a certain sense of urgency either about obtaining the benefits or of facing difficulties if they are not obtained. I think to some extent the European Union factor does give us that added sense of urgency. We think that the time has never been as propitious as it is now. Whether we can successfully exploit this opportunity or not I just cannot tell you.

Chairman GILMAN. The gentleman's time has expired.

The committee will stand in recess until the floor vote is concluded in about 10 minutes.

[Recess.]

Mr. ROTH [presiding]. Mr. Christopher, why don't you begin?

STATEMENT OF MR. PHILIP CHRISTOPHER, PRESIDENT, PANCYPRIAN ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

Mr. CHRISTOPHER. Thank you very much.

In view of the fact that many of the Congressmen had to leave I will submit my testimony in writing and I will just say a few words in regard to the subject.

First, let me begin by expressing my gratitude to this committee, to the chairman, and to all of you for bringing the attention of the Congress to this important issue which is called Cyprus which has been going on for 21 years. The Cyprus issue is important to America and to all of us American citizens for a number of reasons. First of all, Mr. Chairman, the human tragedy inflicted on Cyprus in 1974 by Turkey utilized American-made arms paid for by our taxes in violation of the American law.

Second, the strategic danger for America is also enormous. The tensions between Greece and Turkey can be reduced greatly if the Cyprus problem has been, will be resolved.

Mr. Chairman, in the past 21 years that I have been coming here in Washington speaking on behalf of Cyprus I have seen many Congressmen leave or retired, and I would assume that only a small percentage of the Congress was around in 1974 when the Turkish invasion took place. The Cyprus problem is not a normal issue that you always discuss, whether it is the welfare, taxes, environment or health issues. The Cyprus issue does not have grey areas for debate. It is pretty cut and dry. Turkey violated the American law by utilizing American-made arms to invade the independent Republic of Cyprus creating 200,000 refugees and dividing the country.

This violation is inconsistent with the American principles and ideals that we believe in. It is inconsistent with the human rights that we believe in and fight for. And it is inconsistent with the principles that Americans have given their lives and sacrificed their lives in two world wars and many other wars. It is easy for the Congress and the executive branch during this past 21 years in dealing with the Cyprus issue month after month and year after year to get confused as to what the real issue is.

The real issue is not a bicommunal issue. It is not a problem between two communities, Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots. The real issue, Mr. Chairman, is a problem of basic invasion and continued occupation. The basic problem is that Turkey, 79 times the size of Cyprus, utilizing American made arms paid for by our taxes violated American law, invaded an independent republic, member of the United Nations and created 200,000 refugees and keeps the island divided for 21 years.

Ever since the embargo was lifted against Turkey back in 1978 and the embargo was lifted by the Congress because many people believed that Turkey would be more willing to negotiate and to compromise if the embargo was lifted. We have had the opposite effect. During this past 21 years, Turkey has made a mockery of all the negotiations that took place in trying to resolve the problem. And it is only by having these type of hearings that we have held today and by putting in the record all the arguments that we have heard today, by reminding ourselves that this tragedy has been continuing for 21 years, and through this type of hearing hopefully

we will come up with a corrective action and a new policy that will change the course and bring some results.

It is absolutely wrong for the Congress and for any administration and for us as American citizens to accept the status quo of the illegal Turkish invasion of Cyprus and to accept what that invasion has created as the status quo. The invasion created 200,000 refugees in the South, it created and inflicted tragedy brought on Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. The invasion created 1,619 people missing. It killed thousands of people. It destroyed the gross national income of the country and it destroyed an independent republic.

Mr. Chairman, it is absolutely flat out wrong to accept the status quo. But it is even worse for an American citizen like Mrs. Kassapis. Every year at this time I visit Mrs. Kassapis in Detroit because 21 years ago her son Andrew Kassapis, 17 years old, holding the American passport in his hand was taken prisoner by Turkish troops. He was seen alive. He was listed by the Red Cross as a prisoner and was held by the Turkish troops. For 21 years Mrs. Kassapis has been asking a foreign government that we reward with billions of our taxes what they did with her son.

I have a 17-year-old son and I anguish over that thought that Andrew Kassapis who was born in Detroit, Michigan, is still missing 21 years later. What about the other four American citizens that have been missing since 1974? They also were taken prisoners holding the American passports in their hands. They were retired people that lived in Cyprus. And 21 years later the Government of Turkey is refusing to tell us the whereabouts of the five American citizens.

We have to think of the 1,614 Greek Cypriots that have been missing since 1974. These are not the type of people that are missing in action that you may be hearing in other testimony. These people, Mr. Chairman, were seen alive. There are witnesses that they were in prisons. These people were listed by the Red Cross as prisoners. But yet 1,619 people are missing.

Some tell us that these people were killed or executed. I cannot imagine, Mr. Chairman, how you can possibly execute 1,619 people. I cannot imagine what you do with those 1,619 bodies.

Mr. Chairman, in 1974 when the invasion took place and the Turkish troops utilizing American-made arms forcibly removed 200,000 people, approximately 20,000 Greek Cypriots were trapped in the northern part in the Karpas Peninsula of Cyprus. And these people were called the enclaved. In 1975 there was an agreement between the Turks and the Greek Cypriots to protect the human rights of these 20,000 people that were trapped in the North. The Turkish troops proceeded systematically to force these people out of their homes. There were rapes. There were killings. There were tortures. The problem was never between Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots. The problem has always been between Turkish troops and Greek Cypriots.

And today, Mr. Chairman, out of those 20,000 people that were enclaved in 1974, only 500 people remain in the northern part of Cyprus. And these 500 people that are called the enclaved live under inhuman conditions. These 500 people, Mr. Chairman, can-

not visit a village. They cannot speak to anyone without the Turkish authorities being present.

Mr. Chairman, where else in the world can a dictator like Mr. Denktash who is a puppet for the Ankara and the Turkish Government give homes away as if they belong to him. Where else in the world can visitors go to Cyprus and receive a home. The more expensive homes are given to the military or to VIPs from Turkey. My home in the northern part of Cyprus, Kyrenia, is occupied today by Turks from Turkey.

Through the courtesy of Congressman Torricelli I was able to visit my home in 1989. But, unfortunately, my mother died 3 years ago and she died with a dream of returning to her home in Kyrenia and she was not able to realize that dream. And my father is 89 years old, Mr. Chairman, and his last wish, he is still waiting to return to his home in Kyrenia. I cannot take him back to his home.

I as an American citizen can visit any place in the world except the place where I was born. And my son is 17 years old and he never saw the place where I was born and I cannot take him back to Kyrenia. I cannot think of another place in the world where 200,000 people were ethnically cleansed from their homes.

And I want to correct Mr. Burton because he is under the impression, the Congressman from Indiana, that Turkish Cypriots lived always in the North and Greek Cypriots always lived in the South. Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots lived together peacefully in many different villages. The Turkish invasion of Cyprus is what divided the island, what forced the ethnic cleansing and what brought this division for 21 years.

Mr. Chairman, what is even worse is what the Turkish troops have done to the Turkish Cypriots. And unlike what Mr. Congressman Burton said before, and I want to correct, in 1974 when the invasion took place there were 120,000 Turkish Cypriots in Cyprus. Today there is less than 80,000 Turkish Cypriots in Cyprus. The Turkish Cypriots today in the North are a minority. The majority is the Turkish troops and the illegal settlers that came from Turkey.

It is not the security of the Turkish Cypriots that we are talking about. What we are talking about is the Turkish Cypriots are immigrating for a better future because they themselves are victims of an occupation, an occupation of Turkish troops. There is nothing common—there is nothing in common between the Turkish Cypriots and the Turks from Turkey. Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots have things in common because they have the same identity and they belong to the same country. And it is unfortunate that today the Turkish Cypriots are a minority in the North.

And not too long ago when Dr. Djavit, a Turkish Cypriot, came before this committee and testified before he went back to Cyprus his home exploded by a bomb because the Turkish Cypriots are living under a dictatorship today.

For hundreds of years Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots lived together peacefully and coexisted. I was born in Cyprus, Mr. Chairman. I have lived there. My next door neighbor was a Turkish Cypriot. One of my best friends was a Turkish Cypriot. And even though Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots went to different schools, when the school bell rang out and we came out we played

in the same soccer teams, Mr. Congressman, we lived together, we peacefully coexisted. It was the invasion and the continued occupation that brought the division in Cyprus. Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots lived peacefully together for centuries.

The tragedy of Cyprus can even be identified in my friend Mr. Youssouf here who was born in Brooklyn. A few years ago when he was speaking in a seminar in Princeton University the theme of his speech was that "I am a Turk" and there is no such thing as a Turkish Cypriot and a Greek Cypriot. In back of the room I was standing next to his father who, like me, was born in Cyprus. And he proudly said to me, "I disagree with my son. I am a Turkish Cypriot and I am proud of it."

Mr. Chairman, we have been coming here for 21 years seeking some kind of a resolution to the Cyprus problem. During this past 21 years we have attended many such hearings. We have attended political events. We have attended seminars. We have tried to bring out the truth. There was an embargo against Turkey for violating the American law by illegally invading Cyprus. That embargo was lifted in good faith to see progress. Until we face the truth, until we are able to tell one of our allies, Turkey, who receives billions of our dollars in the form of foreign assistance over the years, the problem has nothing to do with the Turkish Cypriots and the Greek Cypriots. The problem is between Turkey who is unwilling to relinquish the occupation in Cyprus.

There is no reason for us to be subsidizing an occupation force on Cyprus. It is estimated that it is costing the American taxpayer approximately $120,000 a year to subsidize that occupation force on Cyprus.

I was delighted to see that demilitarization resolution was passed today by this committee because that is a step forward. If the island is demilitarized, the Turkish troops are removed, already the President of Cyprus has offered to dissolve the national guard. The two communities can come together and can live together peacefully. The 200,000 refugees in the South should be allowed to return to their homes in the North. Turkish Cypriots that are living in the South and wish to go back to their homes they should be allowed to go back to their homes. The two communities should live together and will live together peacefully the way they lived in the past.

This Congress and this administration should do everything in their power to end the illegal occupation. During this past 20 years, Mr. Chairman, we have seen a change in the world. Our strategic ally Turkey always used the propaganda of its importance to the United States in regards to communism. The Soviet Union has disintegrated. Communism does not exist. Latvia and Lithuania are now free. The Russian troops pulled out of Afghanistan. The Cuban troops pulled out of Angola. The Berlin Wall has fallen. East Germany and West Germany are one nation again. All of the Europeans, there is a new world order. The world went to war to force the invading forces of Iraq out of Kuwait. But yet, 21 years later, 21 years later we still see 35,000 Turkish troops on Cyprus being subsidized by our taxes and we continue to reward Turkey with billions of our taxes in the form of foreign assistance every year.

Turkey is an important ally. And it is in America's best interest to help Turkey to enter the European Union. It is in the interest of the United States to keep a strong country, a Western democratic country in Turkey. But Western democracies do not invade other countries. Western democracies do not violate human rights. And this is the truth that has to come out.

Unless the United States utilizes pressure on Turkey to remove its forces from Cyprus the two communities can never come together. The people of Cyprus deserve better. The people of Cyprus, both Greek Cypriots, Turkish Cypriots, Armenian Cypriots and Maronites can peacefully live together in peace. They did it in the past and they will do it again. The economy of Cyprus is prospering. It is a country with economic growth. And the two communities can live together. The occupation of Cyprus has to end. The invading forces must withdraw. And the two communities should be allowed to come together, one, free, united Cypriots that guarantee, that guarantees basic freedom and basic human rights for all Cypriots, Turkish Cypriots, Greek Cypriots and others.

Once again, Mr. Chairman, I want to thank this committee for listening to me. And once again I want to remind you that the two communities are yearning to come together. Both Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots want to come together and live in peace. And if they are left alone the two communities will come together as they did in the past. Thank you very much.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Christopher appears in the appendix.]

Mr. BURTON [presiding]. Thank you, Mr. Christopher.

Mr. Youssouf.

STATEMENT OF MR. JOSEPH YOUSSOUF, ATTORNEY-AT-LAW

Mr. YOUSSOUF. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am going to ask the committee to insert the prepared statement that I previously delivered in toto in the record. It contains much more than I will be able to say but it contains things that I think are relevant and important for Congress' consideration as it looks at the Cyprus issue.

I am going to ask the committee to further judge the veracity of my friend Mr. Christopher's remarks in the context of my remarks.

Now, I have never identified myself as Turk because I was born, as Mr. Christopher says, in Brooklyn, New York. I am the son of a Turkish Cypriot and the son of an Italian American immigrant. My father's proudest moments were the moments when he saw me testify before this committee in its previous iteration in a previous Congress on this very issue. And the theme of my address delivered at Princeton was not "I am a Turk" it was very simply this, that perhaps that which exists on Cyprus now is the solution so fervently sought by so many throughout the world and throughout Congress. In other words, the status quo, a status quo where no one is being slaughtered, no rights are being violated, no violence has erupted, no intercommunal warfare is raging, perhaps that is the solution that has been talked about and sought for so many years.

My friend, Mr. Christopher would have the Congress believe that there are Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots but that their ethnic identification is in fact the Cypriot political or policies. I am

going to cite him to a Greek Cypriot scholar, Dr. Zenon Stavrinides who in 1975 in a book entitled "The Cyprus Conflict: National Identity and Statement" said something which I think essentially frames the debate for all analysis. This is a direct quote.

It is often inevitable to speak generally of Cypriots or the people of Cyprus but such expressions may be a bit misleading if they suggest that the 650,000 souls now living in Cyprus form one people, a nation characterized by sameness of language, culture, religion or political loyalty. If these commonly accepted criteria of nationhood are applied to the people inhabiting Cyprus they will have to be divided into different national or ethnic groups. The crucial point, however, is that the two main ethnic groups which are to be found on the island are thought of by their members as being not 'self-contained' Cyprus-based nations but integral part of larger nations. Traditionally, at least the 80 percent of the Cypriots have been very conscious of their Greek language,

as my friend Mr. Christopher is,

Greek culture and history and Greek Orthodox religion. And these things make them not Cypriots who just happen to have Greek origins but Greeks living in Cyprus and, as such, members of a larger Greek nation. Analogously, the 18 percent have thought of themselves as Turks living in Cyprus and members of a larger Turkish nation. Thus, although Andreas and Ali may be natives and residents of Cyprus and regard the island as their common homeland they do not normally regard themselves as compatriots but rather as neighbors.

This exact sentiment was mirrored by a Turkish Cypriot scholar, Dr. Vaimik Volkan, who wrote on a book entitled "War and Adaptation,"

This then is a small country into which the soul and blood of one conquering nation after another has seeped over the centuries and in which men without the bonds of natural kinship live side by side. In Cyprus the fascinating diversity of cultural influences, the legacies of one conquering power after another resulted in the end in social bipolarity. The bipolar stance of Cypriot Greeks and Cypriot Turks persisted even as the island was placed under a single flag, that of the Republic of Cyprus.

Now, as an attorney, as many of the Members of this Congress are, I am going to refer you to some legal principles that are very fundamental and very important if you wish to understand the true dynamic of the Cyprus problem. And the first fundamental legal principle that I am going to refer you to is that written words in a constitution generally mean what they say.

Article 1 of the Constitution of 1960 of the so-called Republic of Cyprus which we say no longer really exists, and I will tell you why in a moment, says the following:

The state of Cyprus is an independent and sovereign republic with a Presidential regime, the President being Greek and the Vice President being Turk, elected by the Greek and Turkish communities of Cyprus respectively as hereinafter in this constitution provided.

Now, if we have only a Cypriot policy why would the constitution which created this alleged republic have institutionalized bipolarity? Because it recognized the historical truth, Mr. Chairman, the truth that you talked about today, the truth that my friend would have you ignore because it serves their political interest.

Article 2 of the constitution points out,

For purposes of this constitution the Greek community comprises all citizens of the Republic of Greek origin and whose mother tongue is Greek and who share the Greek cultural traditions or who are members of the Greek Orthodox Church.

2. The Turkish community comprises all citizens of the Republic who are of Turkish origin and whose mother tongue is Turkish or who share the Turkish cultural traditions or who are Muslims.

Why would that be included in an internationally recognized document that forms the basis of this country that we are so fervently becrying as having been invaded by Turkey in 1974 if it was not a simple realpolitik fact. It is what existed and, unfortunately, it is what exists today. And, unfortunately, that bipolarity, that communal division is what led to the terrible events which transpired between 1963 and 1974.

Mr. Chairman, you were very correct when you cited the fact that the very people who were first elected to office to uphold that constitution, who swore as our President does, to uphold the rights, protect the people, and discharge the laws set forth in that constitution and the very statutes adopted by the legislature in Cyprus violated their oaths of office. September 14, 1962, and my Greek friends can snigger because every time the chairman said that they laughed about history, but history will condemn those who lie because it reveals the truth. In 1962, September 14, President Makarios, Archbishop Makarios said,

Unless this small Turkish community forming a part of the Turkish race which has been the terrible enemy of Hellenism is expelled the duty of the heros of the EOKA could never be considered as terminated.

Now, who was EOKA? EOKA was the terrorist organization funded by Greece intended to obtain independence for the island of Cyprus from Great Britain. They were successful in their struggle. But, as subsequent events revealed, not successful enough because EOKA never aimed to create an independent republic. Its aim, its avowed purpose and the reason that Makarios was eventually deposed in a coup d'etat in 1974 was union of Cyprus with Greece, what we call enosis, because of a greater Hellenism. That was the concept.

In fact, the first Minister of the Interior, Polykarpos Yorgadjis, who was charged with the responsibility of protecting the citizens of Cyprus, be they Greek and Turk alike, said this,

There is no place in Cyprus for anyone who is not Greek, who does not think Greek, and who does not consistently feel Greek.

The Chair has heard testimony today that that past is over, let us look to the future. Well, I would also like to point out that for those who believe that the past is not prologue that maybe we should look at most currently those things said in the press, those things said by elected officials in southern Cyprus.

I would like to point out this quote from a Greek Cypriot daily newspaper. Appeared in 1992, not in 1962, 1992.

Turks are a barbarous people. They are the last barbarians of civilization. A people with violent instincts and a thirst for blood. We would rather live with savage animals than the Turks. Until the Turks digest that Cyprus is Greek they cannot live in this country as a minority. And our slogan cannot be anything else but 'the best Turk is a dead Turk.' The union of Cyprus with Greece is the only democratic solution to the Cyprus problem. No to the talks. No to the federation. Enosis, and let the channels fill with the flow of blood.

Mr. Chairman, the sad tragedy is that since 1974 the U.S. Congress has attempted to utilized its vast power, its influence, to say

Turkey was wrong in intervening in Cyprus in 1974, that it is an internationally criminal act, that the true Government of Cyprus is only the southern Government of Cyprus, and that the only way a solution can be found is if Turkey withdraws its forces. I say to you on behalf of my friends and my relatives and my family who still reside in Cyprus, in the northern half of Cyprus, the Turkish Cypriot half of Cyprus, or third more correctly, that that sine qua non to negotiations will unleash the kind of horrors that we decry every day when we watch the news from Bosnia.

The fact is, Mr. Chairman, that there is an irredentist emotion here at stake. I witnessed it firsthand in Princeton when Mr. Christopher was there. Speaking specifically about the ancient city of Famagusta a 17-year-old Greek American student who had never set foot in that city began crying during my speech in Princeton. When asked by my father in Greek why the tears she said, "I want to go to my home, Famagusta." She had never been there. But the emotion of hatred inculcated in this young person, the racial and ethnic memory which forms the basis of these preposterous claims was so strong in that American that she was willing to do whatever had to be done to get back her home for her family.

Mr. Chairman, one of the Congressman today said, and I believe it was Congressman Menendez, who is a very fine man who I have known before this day, said that he is going to test out the theory of going to Cyprus and being able to have Americans, Greek Cypriot Americans go to the North. I invite any Member of Congress to try the following because I did and I will tell you what happened. Enter Cyprus through the North, the Turkish-controlled section, the Turkish Cypriot state that we call the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. Have your passport stamped there. Attempt then to enter either Greece or southern Cyprus. You will not be permitted to do that.

Now, my friend Mr. Christopher becries the fact that he cannot return to his home in Kyrenia. And I am very familiar with Kyrenia. I have friends and relatives that live there. And I will tell Mr. Christopher and I will tell this Congress, that I was not permitted to visit the ancestral home of my family in southern Cyprus because I had the temerity, the unmitigated gall to have my passport stamped at the Turkish entrance, Ercan Airport, Turkish——

Chairman GILMAN [presiding]. If I might interrupt the gentleman.

Mr. YOUSSOUF. I am sorry, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman GILMAN. All the more reason then to let us clarify this and get rid of this archaic prohibition of both sides going across the border. I would hope that you would enlist help, and I ask Mr. Christopher to enlist help on his side of the border. I think there should be a better exchange. If there was, maybe we can move forward and try to get to a peaceful settlement.

Mr. YOUSSOUF. I, I agree completely, Mr. Chairman. I did not mean to cutoff the Chair. If I did, I apologize.

The fact is, when Mr. Christopher and I were wandering to the men's room during the break we were talking about visit. He said that he would help me go to see my family's ancestral home. And I appreciate that offer.

Chairman GILMAN. Shows that communication can go a long way in resolving this issue.

Mr. YOUSSOUF. Communication is exactly essential. I would agree.

But, Mr. Chairman, along those lines I would point out additional factors that I ask the Congress to consider. The Greek Cypriots have never renounced the goal of Enosis.

I asked Mr. Christopher and his friends to formally and publicly announce the end of that misbegotten doctrine because that is, I think, an essential precondition to any kind of meaningful, honest negotiations between the two communities because of the history of distrust and lack of good faith. Renounce that you want to be something other than the Republic of Cyprus and tell that and demonstrate it to the Turkish Cypriots who live in constant fear of their lives, of their health and of their property.

Division of Nicosia, another thing that was mentioned today. I point out that the infamous Green Line of Nicosia did not occur in 1974. It, in fact, occurred in 1963 when the United Nations was forced to cordon off the Turkish sector of the city, the old sector of Nicosia, to protect its population from annihilation by a hostile and armed community. That is a reality that happened that can be verified.

The illegality of the Turkish occupation, Mr. Chairman, which has been constantly referred to and which is embodied in this resolution which I becry and beg for reconsideration, Mr. Chairman, the 1960 Treaty of Guarantee has never been renounced. It still exists. Turkey first went to Great Britain and said intervene to protect these people. Because Nikos Sampson, the man who replaced President Makarios in the coup d'etat of 1974, was elected to the unicameral legislature of the new republic on the slogan "Death to the Turks." Great Britain said no.

In 1974 Turkey came to the United States. The Nixon administration, as we all remember, was in critical condition. The answer we received there was, at best, we cannot do anything. We are not going to help.

It was only after those steps were taken that Turkey intervened. Had it not been for Turkish intervention I would not be here today because there would be no Cyprus problem because there would be no Turkish Cypriots, Mr. Chairman. They would have been either annihilated or forced through economic form to leave their homes, to emigrate from Cyprus.

There must be a solution, Mr. Chairman. Perhaps 21 years of failed policy will point the direction of a new policy. Now, the policy I suggest is set forth, Mr. Chairman. And I suggest that perhaps what Mr. Roth said may be in fact accurate. Perhaps there are certain problems that are insoluble. I know that the power of Greek lobby in America and the Greek American community is overwhelming. I understand that, Mr. Chairman. But I say to you for the small population of Turkish Cypriots that exist in the world today, which we estimate at 125,000 people, when you evaluate this problem put out of your minds all that you have heard from the well funded and very powerful and listen to the weak and the poorly represented, poorly represented by me. Perhaps segregation, perhaps separation, perhaps the lack of violence on that island is

the right answer for that island. Our people will negotiate. Our people will do anything if they can be assured of their security and safety.

Unfortunately, history has taught us, as the gentleman Mr. Burton said, that the best indicator of future performance is past performance. That is why we fear. That is why we ask for justice. Turkey was not wrong. It acted lawfully under international law. Turkey is not wrong in protecting those people.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Youssouf appears in the appendix.]

Chairman GILMAN. We thank you for your testimony. Thank both of our panelists for their testimony.

Mr. CHRISTOPHER. Mr. Chairman, can I add something to, even though I gave my testimony? I think it is important that we correct something for the record.

Chairman GILMAN. Mr. Christopher.

Mr. CHRISTOPHER. Cyprus is a free, independent country. Mr. Youssouf has no problem flying to the airport of Larnaca and going to see his home. What he is insisting on doing is first landing in the northern occupied area and then crossing over.

As an American citizen he can fly into the free independent Republic of Cyprus any time and there will be no problem at all. So he has led this committee to believe that he is prevented. He is not prevented at all.

I, as an American citizen, on the other hand, even though I fly into the legitimate recognized Government of Cyprus, the airport of Larnaca, I cannot visit my home because of the accusations, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman GILMAN. We hope we can correct those problems. They have been existing far too long.

I am pleased that we are joined today with a Member of Congress who is not a member of this committee but is a distinguished subcommittee chairman on health and environment, took time from a very important Medicare hearing to join us, Congressman Mike Bilirakis from the State of Florida.

Mr. CHRISTOPHER. Mr. Chairman, could I just add one more thing?

Chairman GILMAN. Yes.

Mr. CHRISTOPHER. The text that Mr. Youssouf has read is from, he read from scholars he identified as scholars but with extreme points of views that do not represent Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. If that was the case we should be reading from the KKK, the Ku Klux Klan here in the United States in regards to our citizens with extreme points of view.

In any country you will have prejudice, discriminations of many minorities. And we, as American citizens, have lived many such discrimination. And the KKK has its points of view. But we do not espouse it.

What Mr. Youssouf here has led you to believe here is that extreme points of views should be the majority. In fact, the majority of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots live together peacefully. His father and my father were good friends. They lived together, they spoke Turkish together and they spoke Greek together. These

people can live together and coexist together. Do not let extremist points of view change your mind. What you have here is an invasion, an occupation that is preventing these people from living peacefully together.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Christopher.

Mr. Bilirakis.

Mr. BILIRAKIS. Mr. Chairman, thank you so very much for being so considerate to invite me and to allow me to come here today. Being at a hearing is always a great learning process. In spite of the fact that many of us may think we know more about this subject than some others, the truth of the matter is we do not know anywhere near enough. So I have learned an awful lot just sitting here for these few minutes and I am going to have to leave.

Mr. Christopher, I think, has said it all and said it very well. As far as Mr. Youssouf is concerned, he must be a very competent, very successful attorney. He is very, very eloquent. I commend him as I do Mr. Christopher for, of course, they say they are Americans first, and that is so very true. But they are also proud of the fact of their ethnicity and I certainly commend them. I certainly commend Mr. Youssouf particularly because you are certainly in a much smaller minority in this country, that is the Turkish ethnics.

Mr. YOUSSOUF. Thank you.

Mr. BILIRAKIS. This Congress has been placed in such a terrible position over the years with having to take sides—pro-Turkey, pro-Greek. I have heard Toby say something here about pro-Turkey. Mr. Burton is still here, we came into the Congress together. We are very good friends. We always were good friends. I think we still are very good friends. We vote practically alike in practically every issue, except the issue that involves Cyprus and some of the Greek issues. To me, that is ridiculous because this should not be a pro-Greek or pro-Turkey type of thing. It should be a pro-freedom type of thing and it should be a pro-people type of thing.

Mr. Christopher tells us about how his father and Mr. Youssouf's father were very good friends there and drank Turkish coffee together. We still call it Turkish coffee, Mr. Youssouf. We do not call it Greek coffee, we call it Turkish coffee. So, you know, why can't our people get together, your people, my people. I am not sure that there is much of a difference between the two of us for crying out loud, except some of the things like this and maybe the language, and in some cases, the religions.

But as long as the two of you sit at a table as close as you are and are at odds with each other, as you appear to be, how in the hell can we possibly expect these ivory tower nations, the nation of Greece, if you will, and, of course, the Greek Cypriot Republic of Cyprus and, then, of course, Mr. Denktash and his people, to actually sit around and work things out?

I am not an expert at it. I looked over into the Green Line. I saw, I guess I will use the word devastation there as compared to what is on the southern side. Is that good for your people? I do not think it is. Some of the things that you have mentioned that happened in the past regarding the invasion, I am not going to question because I do not know.

You have heard many of these things from your father. You have read about them all. Did some of them take place? They probably

did. But the fact of the matter is what happened then is not today. Are your people really better off today under those kinds of conditions than they were at that particular time? I think not.

I am going to make a trip there again in late August. And I plan to go over the Green Line to visit it. I am going to go see the enclave. I have talked to the enclave already. They have come over the line and talked with me. But it is just a critical situation that we consider the people first, and freedom. I do not think that all of your people there have the freedom that they would like to have. Imagine if you were not able to cross over the line to see your ancestral home. I imagine some of those people have problems doing the same thing and that is not true freedom. Certainly for Mr. Christopher, not being able to go over the Green Line to visit his ancestral home is certainly not freedom.

So that is really what it comes down to. Putting the Dan Burtons and the Mike Bilirakises, who are very good friends and who vote alike in practically every other respect, at odds on an issue like this is utterly ridiculous, and I am frankly sick of it. We have to really get together, give a little bit on both sides and get this thing done. That is really what the heck it takes.

But, you know, the influence of the Greek Americans and the Turkish and the Cypriot Americans, if you will, in this country is certainly great. Your influence as a Turkish American also makes quite a difference. You have to be involved insofar as that area is concerned.

From a personal standpoint, my parents are from the Kanisa, the group of islands off of Turkey. I have a first cousin, Skevos Sidiotis, who is a principal at a school. He may have taught some of the people in this room, I do not know. But the fact of the matter is that they lived well in Famagusta. They had a home there. They were successful. His wife was a music teacher. The point of the matter is they lost all that with the invasion. That is wrong. Famagusta is now a deserted city. It used to be such a beautiful city at one time. That is wrong. It does not do Turkey any good. It does not do the people any good. I think that things have to change.

If you all are not going to sit down to get it done, then the Congress of the United States is going to have to do it in exchange.

Chairman GILMAN. I thank the gentleman for taking time from his busy schedule to be with us.

Mr. Engel.

Mr. ENGEL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. And we have been here for a long time and I think that this committee is certainly very interested in this issue. And I commend you for after all of these years for finally having these hearings.

I want to welcome our witnesses. I know Mr. Christopher well. Phil, I welcome you. And you have been a champion for freedom for many, many years. And I know you have the respect of all members of the committee, as was mentioned, and we welcome you.

Mr. Youssouf, we do not know each other, but I am sure likewise you present a point of view that is heartfelt and sincere.

And as Mr. Bilirakis said it is just a tragedy when we see problems all over the world seemingly edging toward solution, the Middle East, Ireland, South Africa, it kind of hurts us all that Cyprus

is kind of stuck in a quagmire. And we really hope that we can play a positive role in this Congress in trying to move it, to move it forward.

I was glad that Mr. Christopher made the point about the inflammatory language that you read, Mr. Youssouf, because I was going to make the point to say that we can always pick extremists on both sides and kind of take their language as the norm. We do it all the time, Members of Congress, when we try to score points. But I think that the overwhelming majority of both Greek and Turkish Cypriots want to see this come to an end and do not really think the solution is driving the other side off the island or driving the other side into the sea. That may be some extremists but I do not think it is indicative.

I want to also make the point, and I am not going to make the points I made before because I think it is apparent what my position has been on this issue was that I was kind of struck by Mr. Christopher's testimony. And I wonder if, Phil, if you could kind of elaborate on that because, frankly, I had not realized it until I saw it in your testimony that at the time of the invasion in 1974 there were 120,000 Turkish Cypriots on the island, today there are less than 80,000. I mean, that indicates to me that even with the occupation of the Turkish troops it has not exactly been a paradise on the northern side of the island.

I am wondering if you could elaborate on that?

Mr. CHRISTOPHER. Well, that was the point I was making, Congressman. You are absolutely correct. The point, of course, is that Turkish Cypriots are as much victims today of that occupation as the Greek Cypriots. Even though the Greek Cypriots were ethnically cleansed from the South. And many Turkish Cypriots were forced from the North to come to the—from the South to come to the North. The truth of the matter is the demographics of Cyprus is changing. I speak to many Turkish Cypriots who are emigrating for a better future. The ones that are very liberal and they express their willingness to coexist together with Greek Cypriots, they are forced out.

And it is really a tragedy that today there is only 80,000, less than 80,000 Turkish Cypriots in the North when in 1974 there were 120,000. So the Turkish troops that came, as Mr. Youssouf said, to protect the Turkish minority, what they basically have done is replaced that minority with Turkish settlers from Anatolia that have nothing in common with Cyprus. And this is indeed a tragic situation today. And that is why times is of the essence to correct our policy and to recognize once and for all that the problem is not a bicommunal problem between Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots, the problem you have is a problem with Turkey that invaded and continues to occupy 38 percent of the island.

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Youssouf, would you comment on Mr. Christopher's statement? And also the fact that my resolution which passed before, I believe you were here when we did it.

Mr. YOUSSOUF. Yes, sir.

Mr. ENGEL. I do not think there is really anything that objectionable in that resolution. We are really talking about the removal of troops and guarantees, I guess they would be international guarantees. No one is advocating the removal of Turkish troops so that

the Turkish Cypriot population would be slaughtered or driven out. And if the United States is engaged I am sure you can be assured that that will not happen. So I would like you to comment on Mr. Christopher's statement and also on our resolution because I think it is a fair resolution.

Mr. YOUSSOUF. Thank you, Mr. Engel. I appreciate the opportunity to respond.

In the first place, I am not sure at all where Mr. Christopher gets the representation of 80,000 Turkish Cypriots only. The information I had was 125,000. I suspect by the end of the hearing, he said it was fewer than 80,000, probably when we finish it will be down to 75,000. I think the number is inherently suspect.

The basic fact, Mr. Engel, and having been there most recently in 1993 and having had a lot of opportunity to talk to my relatives and family in Cyprus they say this, because of the Greek economic blockade of northern Cyprus the northern Cypriot economy has not prospered. But these people told me, and this is anecdotal and I accept that, that they would rather live in the freedom and security that they have than fear for their very existence if the Turkish forces depart the island. Now——

Mr. ENGEL. May I just, I do not mean to interrupt.

Mr. YOUSSOUF. Yes, sir.

Mr. ENGEL. But would they really, if the United States, which admittedly is an ally of both Greece and Turkey, and we have our diplomacy, you heard the first panel, we are hoping to get it more engaged and whatever, if there was American involvement and, therefore, American guarantees, do you really think it would be a threat to the Turkish Cypriot population? I would not think so.

Mr. YOUSSOUF. Well, Mr. Chairman—I am sorry. Mr. Engel, I point out that in 1963 a United Nations peacekeeping force was in the island. That force was completely ineffective in protecting the Turkish Cypriot population at the time of the 1974 coup d'etat. There were two British sovereign bases, and there still are two British sovereign bases with substantial military force in Cyprus. They are part of the British concession at the time of the time of the creation of the republic in 1960. Those forces, allies of Turkey, allies of the United States, did not move one inch to protect the Turkish Cypriot people.

And, in fact, it is interesting that Mr. Christopher mentioned Famagusta which the Turkish people call Gazi Magosa. The fact is that my family took shelter within the walls of the ancient fortress and through that shelter were able to survive until the Turkish military reached them and protected them from armed aggression from the national police force of Cyprus which was entirely Greek at that point in time.

The fact is, Mr. Engel, I suspect that if the United States was willing to issue the kind of treaty guarantees and military force to ensure a complete demilitarization of the island and a complete confiscation of private arsenals which exist in the militias that maybe the Turkish Cypriots would then breathe securely. The question is, is it in our Nation's interest to intervene militarily so that to agree to guarantee the sovereign protection of the Turkish Cypriot peoples who identify themselves, as I have said, as a people?

That is a very serious step for us and a very serious question. And if we substitute an American military force and said, this is going to be the police force that is going to guarantee that there will be no intercommunal aggression or hostilities, perhaps then we would find a solution. But I am not sure as an American that I really want to see us commit troops there. Having been a long time and vociferous opponent to American intervention in South Vietnam I can tell you that I am very loathe to see our troops sent anyplace where our national interests are not clearly at stake.

Mr. ENGEL. I just want——

Chairman GILMAN. The gentleman's time has expired.

Mr. ENGEL. If I could just say one sentence, Mr. Chairman.

You will agree, though, with Mr. Christopher and with those of us on the committee that the status quo is really unacceptable?

Mr. YOUSSOUF. No, Mr. Engel, I do not. In fact, I advocate the radical position of saying that perhaps the solution to the Cyprus problem is at hand. Perhaps the status quo is in fact the solution because of these facts. Since 1974 there has been no intercommunal warfare. Since 1974 not one Turkish Cypriot nor one Greek Cypriot has died at the hands of an intercommunal rival. There has been peace. No prosperity in the North, admittedly, but not violence. And my God, in this world where Bosnia dominates our headlines, where we see the horrors of ethnic warfare in Africa, we have to ask ourselves a question, Is not peace preferable even though it is an armed peace? Even though the south of Cyprus has rearmed itself incredibly, even though there are 30,000 Turkish troops—perhaps that many, I do not think there are but perhaps that many in the North, isn't that armed peace preferable to open aggression or war? That is a profound——

Chairman GILMAN. The gentleman's time has expired.

Mr. Menendez.

Mr. MENENDEZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I want to join Mr. Engel. I, unfortunately, had another engagement in between. I did, however, read both of your testimonies. So I want you to know that I have read them fully although I was not here for your verbal presentations.

I just sense that, and I know, of course, Mr. Christopher from an involvement and as I was referring earlier, one person struggling for a belief makes things happen. I often think of the story in Solidarity of Lech Walesa who started off in the shipyards by getting two other people with him to tack up some signs and say how unfair the conditions were in the shipyards. And he was beaten up by the police, thrown over the fence. His face was lying in the mud. And he wanted to give it all up. He thought about it. And then he returned the next day. And, of course, the rest is history what happened there.

So one person fighting a belief on either side of the equation is an important thing. I think it does make a difference.

And I know Mr. Youssouf as a fellow New Jerseyan who has run for public office. And I respect his views. But I think that the question of having, you know, I do not believe that there is such a thing as peace at any price. And the fact of the matter is that there are times in which there are some human conditions in which saying that you are having peace is really not peace.

I want to turn to Phil Christopher, just at the end of your statement you said if the American Government tried to bring to the table Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots they would solve the problem within a year. Could you just briefly tell us what it is that you think would happen in that event? Because I think that is an interesting point because this is not a question of excluding one side or another, this is a question of uniting people.

Mr. CHRISTOPHER. Well, the problem, Congressman, is this and is that the so-called leader of the Turkish Cypriots, Mr. Denktash, he represents an extremist point of view the same as Mr. Youssouf. But this is not the truth of the matter as to how the Turkish Cypriots and the Greek Cypriots live toward—feel toward each other. And the problem, as long as you have Turkish troops on Cyprus that are supporting this particular government, even during the last elections when Mr. Denktash did not get a majority, it took the Foreign Minister of Turkey to fly into the northern part of Cyprus to make sure that he got enough coalition power to get elected to his office.

And there is enough indications, there is enough exchanges, Mr. Denktash tries to prevent any kind of an exchange. When we invite Turkish Cypriots to come to the other side Mr. Denktash tries to dissuade, to discourage this type of an exchange. He does not want Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots to come together.

If that was the case, we should all go back to the Civil War here in the United States and have two, two countries. You cannot take things that happen in the past. The world has changed. The people have changed. We have a new world order. People feel different toward each other. The country of Cyprus can prosper together. Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots have commonalities between themselves. They respect each other. And they respect their cultures and each other's culture and each other's heritage.

And I gave the example that I have lived in Kyrenia, Cyprus. And I have good friends that were Turkish Cypriots. We went to different schools but we have lived together. My father spoke Turkish. His father spoke Greek. They have lived together and coexisted together.

So there is room here. But if you take the extreme and you say they just cannot live together then we should divide the United States, 50 states by ethnic groups. And, you know, bottom line is we are all Americans. We all believe in human rights. We all believe in freedom and we all believe in the democratic principles. You are a Cuban American, you are a Turkish American, I am a Greek American. We can all run for office, we can all be elected to office. That is the bottom line. You may be a Muslim, I may be a Christian, you may be Jewish. I do not know, this is, this is what the world is all about.

What Mr. Youssouf wants to do is dissect the world by dividing them into little groups. This is not what the new world is all about. And I am sure there is enough indications that Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots can live together. Every time I spoke to a Turkish Cypriot he yearns to come back to live like the old days. And I think that is the majority without question.

Mr. YOUSSOUF. Mr. Chairman, if I may have a moment to respond, Mr. Menendez?

Chairman GILMAN. Yes. Mr. Youssouf.

Mr. YOUSSOUF. Thank you very much.

First of all, I resent deeply the characterization of my remarks as indicating I would like to divide the world into a series of Balkan states. The only principle that I have lived by, the principle that led me to become a conscientious objector to the war in Vietnam in the 1960's was the principle that violence must be eradicated from human history if we are to survive as a species.

The fact is, Mr. Menendez, is that if there was a plebiscite on this question among the Turkish Cypriot population I guarantee that they would overwhelmingly support a resolution that said we wish to live in peace and we wish to live by ourselves at this point in time because of the terrible bloody history that we have endured. The smooth talk, the easy way within which Mr. Christopher says, well, they really just want to come home, is a fabrication intended to influence policy. The fact is that I advocate peace. And I know that peace exists now. So I advocate that which is. But it is not peace at any price. It is not peace without dignity. It is not peace without security. It is fact an armed vigilance. But that type of peace is superior to what existed.

If I posit this theory, that the best indicator of future performance is past performance, and if I apply that theory to history, how many times am I proven wrong? I just, I pray that there would be some solution that would make more sense than what is, but I just do not see it. And at——

Mr. MENENDEZ. Well, I thank the gentleman for his comments.

Let me close, Mr. Chairman, by saying that I have got to believe, and maybe I will see it firsthand, that the opportunity for brotherhood among two people who had a common history, who had a common nation, who had sovereignty, can happen once again. Many other things dramatically have happened throughout the world on the turn of a new century. I have got to believe this one can happen too.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman GILMAN. I thank the gentleman for his remarks.

I want to thank our panelists, Philip Christopher and Joseph Youssouf, for taking the time to be with us. I am hoping that your interventions will help us find a solution so that we do not have a divided Cyprus, a unified Cyprus that can live in peace. Thank you again.

The hearing stands adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 1:35 p.m., the committee was adjourned pursuant to the call of the chair.]

APPENDIX

STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR JAMES WILLIAMS
SPECIAL CYPRUS COORDINATOR
BEFORE THE
HOUSE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE
July 19, 1995

Mr. Chairman, President Clinton has pledged to redouble efforts by the United States to resolve the Cyprus problem. Presidential Emissary Beattie and I work closely with Assistant Secretary Richard Holbrooke, who gives policy direction to our efforts. We also liaise with UN Special Negotiator Joe Clark and other UN officials who help Secretary General Boutros-Ghali carry out his good offices mission on Cyprus. Our goal is a common one: emergence of a bizonal, bicommunal federated state, with peace and security for the two communities of Cyprus.

Mr. Chairman, all parties agree that the status quo cannot continue. Tensions must be reduced, and the two communities of Cyprus must find a way in which to share in a common future. The elements for a solution are on the table. In October, 1994 Greek-Cypriot leader Clerides made several imaginative proposals for a deal. The UN and the parties have worked up a set of Confidence Building Measures. In the April campaign in northern Cyprus, all candidates agreed on the need for a solution; Turkish-Cypriot leader Denktash committed himself to finding one in 1996. Turkish Prime Minister Ciller repeatedly stresses her government's will for a solution. UN officials are striving to resume a productive intercommunal dialogue. The European Union, by its decisions of March 6, has opened new vistas for a Cyprus settlement. An EU team recently visited the island to meet with Turkish Cypriots on the details and possible benefits of EU membership for a future federal republic of Cyprus.

Mr. Chairman, I have been involved with Cyprus for much of my career. I have served in Ankara, Nicosia, and Athens. I was in Ankara during the crisis of November 1967; in Nicosia during the fateful 1973-1975 era; and in 1990-1994 in Athens, where I dealt often with Cyprus. I can frankly say that no administration has placed a stronger emphasis on finding a fair and lasting solution to the Cyprus problem than the current one. Working with Assistant Secretary Holbrooke, Presidential Emissary Beattie, and Ambassador Boucher, I will continue to strive to make this a year of solution to the Cyprus problem.

I would be pleased to reply to any questions that you may have. Thank you.

STATEMENT BY RICHARD BOUCHER
U.S. AMBASSADOR TO CYPRUS
BEFORE THE
HOUSE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE
July 19, 1995

Mr. Chairman, The ties between the United States and Cyprus are strong and continue to expand. I work closely with the government of Cyprus, as well as the leadership of the two communities to strengthen these ties, and to help the two sides to find common ground. The U.S. supports a number of programs in Cyprus, including a five million dollar scholarship program and $10 million spent on development projects. We conduct our programs bicommunally to provide an opportunity for Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots to have a dialogue. We do that because for any settlement to succeed in Cyprus, Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots need to establish cooperative relations and the ability to communicate in a positive and productive manner. Bicommunal contacts allow the two sides to have a more realistic understanding of one another.

Mr. Chairman, we should not loose sight of the fact that in addition to our attempts to find an overall solution to the Cyprus problem, Cyprus is a real country with which we have the full range of bilateral relations. The economic and commercial situation in Cyprus is very important to the United States. From a regional perspective, Cyprus can become a center for business and commerce in the Eastern Mediterranean. The economic potential for both Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots working together is immense. A stable Cyprus will be an important market and trading partner for the U.S. Cyprus is not just a "problem". It's a country and a place with real people who have real interests.

Over the past several decades a succession of U.S. administrations have given a great priority to achieving an overall solution on Cyprus. The current Administration is continuing this tradition and has appointed Richard Beattie as the Presidential Emissary- the first Presidential Emissary in 16 years. As Ambassador to Cyprus I will continue to manage our bilateral affairs, but will also strive with Mr. Beattie and Special Cyprus Coordinator James Williams, under the policy leadership of Assistant Secretary Holbrooke, to make this year the one which will produce a lasting solution on Cyprus.

The U.S. will help Cyprus tap its full potential for the benefit of Greek and Turkish Cypriots, for the benefit of our trade, educational, and other ties to the region. The United States wants a better future, a common future, for Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots. Not only because it is good for Cypriots; a comprehensive settlement acceptable to both communities will serve U.S. interests in this vital region.

Remarks of the Honorable Robert Menendez (D-NJ)
House International Relations Committee
Hearing on U.S. Policy Towards Cyprus
July 19, 1995

I want first to thank the Chairman for calling this hearing. Cyprus is one of world's few island nations which tragically remain divided. Tomorrow marks the twenty-first anniversary of the Turkish invasion and occupation. A solution to the longstanding illegal occupation and division of Cyprus is long overdue.

Nicosia remains the world's only divided city. We are at a time when the road to peace has come to the Middle East; at a time when the guns have been silenced in the Irish conflict. Let me suggest that now is the time for Nicosia to be one again. Now is the time is now for Cyprus to be one again.

Mr. Chairman, the world must know that the Greek Cypriots, in accordance with United Nations Security Council resolutions, have for years entered with good faith and good will negotiations aimed at arriving at a responsible and fair solution to the illegal division and occupation of Cyprus. This past May, under the auspices of the U.S. and the British governments, secret talks in London sought to determine whether there was some basis for further talks which might move the Cypriot situation toward a real and lasting solution.

But, as the idea of the talks developed and the fact that they were being held was made public, a familiar pattern once again surfaced. This is a pattern that I have found time and time again in my dealings with this issue. And that pattern is Turkish Cypriot and Turkish Government intransigence.

The Turkish Government, which is not even a party to the talks, has nevertheless jumped onto center stage in the Cyprus drama by declaring that Cyprus cannot enter the Western European Union until Turkey joins the European Union. The Turkish Prime Minister has announced that there can be no solution in Cyprus until Turkey joins the EU. This is disingenuous and lacks seriousness because Turkey will not be joining the EU anytime soon.

Prime Minster Ciller has even argued that the key to the Cyprus problem is in Ankara. Maybe the Prime Minister is right. Maybe -- sadly -- the key to a solution in Cyprus is in Ankara. But let me say that if there is any key in Ankara that may serve as solution in Cyprus, that is the key which opens the door to take back the 35,000 Turkish forces of occupation in Cyprus. Open that door, Ms. Prime Minister, and you will see how quickly the use of that key can bring peace and justice to the people and the nation of Cyprus.

Cyprus' accession to the EU will help move forward the peace process -- not stall it, as some have suggested. Mr. Chairman, it is natural and fitting that Cyprus should join the EU, and that all of its people should be a part of the EU. I hope that today the Administration will express its support for Cyprus' accession to the European Union.

Accession to the EU for Cyprus will send a clear message to our Turkish friends that continued intransigence on the Cyprus issue will yield them no positive results. Cyprus is one island. Cyprus is one nation. It cannot have two governments. It must have only one government: the government of Cyprus. It does not have two different peoples. And it has only one people -- the people of Cyprus. The Turkish Government must simply recognize that.

The Turkish Cypriot leader, Mr. Denktash, refers to Turkey as "the motherland." I may not be a Cypriot, but it seems to me that the nation which tomorrow enters its 21st year in its struggle for unity is Cyprus -- and not Turkey. The status of a Turkish "motherland" is not the question here; the question here is the status and the dignity of the people and the nation of Cyprus.

We must likewise condemn any threats to integrate the Turkish-occupied zone with the Greek zone were Cyprus to join the EU. These threats must be withdrawn, as must threats to distribute alleged title deeds of stolen Greek property in occupied Cyprus. We must also condemn the recent alleged building by the Turkish occupation forces of new fortifications at the Paphos Gate in occupied Nicosia.

As we meet here today, there are grounds for optimism. With the accession to the EU next year, the first step will be taken. The biggest step yet will be taken. There is hope for a united Cyprus. But there is much yet to be done. Let us all work together, and let us all remain committed, to hasten the day when the nation of Cyprus is united at last and when the people of Cyprus at long last live together in peace.

TESTIMONY OF PHILIP CHRISTOPHER
BEFORE THE HOUSE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE
(Wednesday, July 19, 1995)

Mr. Chairman:

Thank you for focusing the attention of the Congress and of this committee on the important issues of Cyprus through this congressional hearing.

The Cyprus issue is important to America for a number of reasons. The human tragedy, inflicted on Cyprus in 1974 and continuing today, was brought on by American arms utilized by Turkey in violation of American law.

Second, the strategic danger for America is also enormous. Dangerous tensions between Greece and Turkey in the eastern Mediterranean and in the volatile Balkans would be greatly reduced, if the Cyprus problem was not allowed to continue.

Mr. Chairman, the Congress must understand that the Cyprus issue is not the normal kind of issue with which the Congress deals. This is not an issue like the environment, housing or health, with many gray areas for debate. The Turkish invasion of July 20, 1974 and the continued military occupation, keeping 200,000 people from returning to their homes, is simply, simply wrong!! It is inconsistent with the democratic ideals of our country, it is inconsistent with basic human rights, it is inconsistent with all the principles for which Americans have given their lives.

It is easy for the Congress and the executive branch, when dealing with the Cyprus issue month after month and year after year, to lose sight of the real essence of the problem and how uniquely wrong our policy has been for 21 years.

The Cyprus issue is not a bi-communal or a religious problem, it is rather a problem of invasion and continued occupation by one of our strategic allies, which is and has been a recipient of billions of our taxes, in the form of military and economic foreign assistance.

Ever since the embargo was lifted against Turkey, we have compromised principles and ideals for the sake of military and economic interest and for the sake of expediency.

Only by reminding ourselves of this modern tragedy, through this type of hearing, can we ever hope to have a clear understanding of the problem and hopefully implement a new corrective policy that would help to properly solve it.

It is flat out wrong for us to accept the status quo of the illegal 1974 Turkish invasion that killed thousands, ethnically cleansed 200,000 Greek-Cypriots, created 1,619 missing and divided the island for 21 years. It is simply wrong to accept the continued occupation and to annually reward Turkey with millions of our taxes.

Mr. Chairman, it's flat out wrong for Mrs. Kassapis of Detroit, her husband and her daughters to still be asking a foreign government, to which she and her fellow taxpayers have recently given five billion hard-earned dollars, what they have done with her innocent 17-year-old son. Mr. Chairman, it's horrible and it's wrong.

What about the other four Americans captured alive? What about the other 1,614 frightened human beings taken alive? Mr. Chairman, keep clear in your mind that these people are not missing in action, like other missing you will hear about, but taken alive and seen alive in Turkish prisons. Some say they were all killed. Mr. Chairman, do you know how hard it is to execute 1,619 human beings? Picture it, how do you take life from that many frightened people, and what do you do with that many bodies? How does such an action carried out with American weapons match up with the things for which America stands? It's horrible and it's wrong.

And, what do you tell the thousands of Greek-Cypriots and American parents who suffer every night because there is still a chance that their son, brother or father may be alive and wondering why they have not saved him? This is horrible and this is wrong.

Mr. Chairman, it's wrong to force slave-like living conditions on the nearly 500 enclaved people in Cyprus. As we speak, they are and have been for decades virtual prisoners in their own homes. They can't speak to anyone outside their village without the presence of the Turks in charge. If they want to go beyond elementary school, they can never go home again after they turn 16 years old. Mr. Chairman, its 1995, these are supposed to be free democracies not slave camps which we are funding. It's horrible and it's wrong.

Mr. Chairman, where other than in Cyprus can a quasi-dictator give other people's homes away to a visitor? These are our homes. What other American aid recipient country does this? Think about it. It's wrong.

Mr. Chairman, where else has an army illegally invaded and occupied over a third of another country? The Russian troops left from Afghanistan, the Cuban troops left Angola and the Iraqi troops were forced to withdraw from Kuwait!

The Soviet Union has disintegrated, Eastern Europe is free, the Berlin Wall has fallen, but yet the Turkish troops remain in Cyprus keeping the island divided.

Mr. Chairman, it's wrong what the Turkish troops and the Turkish illegal settlers have done to the Turkish-Cypriots. In 1974, there were 120,000 Turkish-Cypriots; today there are less than 80,000. The Turkish army is effectively forcing Turkish-Cypriots to immigrate for a better future. Turkey has made a joke out of the term "Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot Intercommunal Talks!" It's Greek-Cypriots meeting with Ankara's army, represented by a person who some call a quisling dictator, kept in power by invading Turkish troops as a puppet for Ankara.

Today, the Turkish-Cypriots are a minority, victims of the invasion and the illegal Anatolia settlers supported by the Turkish army are the majority. This is horrible and this is wrong!

For hundreds of years Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots lived in harmony. I can attest to that harmony because I was born in Cyprus, in the picturesque town of Kyrenia, with a mixed population. My next door neighbors were the Turkish-Cypriot family of Mr. Moustafa. My best friend was a Turkish-Cypriot and even though we went to separate elementary schools, we sill played soccer together and shared holidays, and our families respected each other's culture and heritage. Even when the British pitted Greek-Cypriots against Turkish-Cypriots in order to preserve their colonial rule, there was still peaceful co-existence.

Mr. Chairman, the person speaking here today under the heading of a Turkish-Cypriot representative demonstrates this tragedy for our fellow Cypriots -- the Turkish-Cypriots. A few years ago at Princeton University, the theme of the articulate Mr. Youssouf's remarks was that he is not a Turkish Cypriot, but that he is a Turk. As he was speaking, I stood in the back of the room next to his father, a fine man, who, like myself, was born and raised in Cyprus. I asked him if he was a Turk or a Turkish-Cypriot. He said with some pride, "I am a Turkish-Cypriot."

Mr. Chairman, let me conclude my testimony by saying: Don't confuse the desires of the Turks on Cyprus, foreigners who invaded and are occupying another nation, and who are speaking through a few Turkish-Cypriots, with the desires of the Turkish-Cypriots who are being ethnically cleansed from Cyprus. Unlike the other testimony here today, Turkish-Cypriots will pridefully help you understand that important distinction. A blurring of that distinction is the biggest reason that the Cyprus tragedy continues to exist. It is also the reason that the rich hundreds-of-years old culture of the Turkish-Cypriots is now on the endangered species list and headed for oblivion.

The Congress must first address Turkey's illegal occupation of the nation of Cyprus. This occupation is not being carried out by Turkish-Cypriots. America should do all that it can to bring to the table the prime minister of Turkey to meet with the president of Cyprus and to put an end to the illegal occupation.

Second, the American government should try to help bring to another table Turkish-Cypriots who are elected by the Turkish-Cypriots, not those selected by the Turks. They and Greek-Cypriots could solve the Cyprus problem within one year. Together, as one nation, these two peoples can again flourish as they enter the European community.

Enactment of the demilitarization resolution pending before this committee is an excellent first step to addressing the first part of this problem -- getting the American funded Turkish army off the backs of Cypriots -- Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots. I strongly urge the committee to vote favorably for this legislation. It should be approved in a form unamended from its introduction.

STATEMENT OF JOSEPH D. YOUSSOUF, EXECUTIVE VICE-PRESIDENT

OF THE TURKISH CYPRIOT CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL

ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, INC.

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee,

I sincerely appreciate this opportunity to appear before the Committee as it reviews United States policy regarding Cyprus and how the Cyprus problem affects U.S. security interests in the eastern Mediterranean basin.

It is respectfully submitted that in order to formulate a fair and just policy toward Cyprus, one which truly serves our national interests, the government of the United States should carefully review the recent history of that troubled island.

The Republic of Cyprus was proclaimed in 1960 following years of civil unrest. A constitution was developed by a joint constitutional commission chaired by a Swiss professor of international law and composed of legal experts from Greece, Turkey, and the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities. In recognition of the historical realities of Cyprus, this new constitution institutionalized the concept of bi-communality. This concept was accurately described by the Greek Cypriot scholar Dr. Zenon Stavrinides in his 1975 book entitled The Cyprus Conflict, National Identity and Statehood.:

> "It is often inevitable to speak generally of "Cypriots" or the people of Cyprus, but such expressions may be a bit misleading if they suggest that the 650,000.00 souls now living in Cyprus form one people, a nation characterized by sameness of language, culture, religion or political loyalty...if these commonly accepted criteria of nationhood are applied to the people inhabiting Cyprus, they will have to be divided into different national or ethnic groups. The crucial point, however is that the two main ethnic groups which are to be found on the island are thought of by their members as being not "self-contained" Cyprus based nations, but integral parts of larger nations. Traditionally at least, the 80% of the Cypriots have been very conscious of their Greek language, Greek culture and history, and Greek Orthodox religion; and these things make them not Cypriots who just happen to have had Greek origins, but Greeks living in Cyprus, and as such members of a larger Greek nation. Analogously, the 18% have thought of themselves as Turks living in Cyprus, and members of a larger Turkish nation. Thus, although Andreas and Ali may be natives and residents of Cyprus, and regard the island as their common homeland, they do not normally regard themselves as compatriots, but rather as neighbors."

These observations have been echoed by the Turkish Cypriot scholar, Dr. Vaimik Volkan, who wrote in his book War and Adaptation:

> "This then is a small country into which the soul and blood of one conquering nation after another has seeped over the centuries, and in which men without the bonds of natural kinship live side by side...in Cyprus the fascinating diversity of cultural influences, the legacies of one conquering power after another resulted in the end in social bipolarity. The bipolar stance of Cypriot Greeks and Cypriot Turks persisted even as the island was placed under a single flag, that of the Republic of Cyprus"

The veracity of these observations about the true nature of the Cypriot peoples is witnessed by the fact that the 1960 Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus recognized and institutionalized the separate existence of the Greek Cypriot and

Turkish Cypriot communities.

For example Articles 1 and 2 of the 1960 Constitution state:

ARTICLE 1.

"The State of Cyprus is an independent and sovereign republic with a presidential regime, the President being Greek and the Vice-President being Turk elected by the Greek and Turkish communities of Cyprus respectively as hereinafter in this Constitution provided.

ARTICLE 2.

For purposes of this Constitution - 1) The Greek community comprises all citizens of the Republic of Greek origin and whose mother tongue is Greek and who share the Greek cultural traditions or who are members of the Greek Orthodox Church; 2) The Turkish community comprises all citizens of the Republic who are of Turkish origin and whose mother tongue is Turkish or who share the Turkish cultural traditions or who are Muslims.

The unicameral legislature created pursuant to the terms of this new Constitution was apportioned 70% to the Greek community and 30% to the Turkish community. The civil service was similarly apportioned as was the national police force.

This Constitution represented a careful attempt to insure the political and human rights of all citizens of the newly founded Republic. In order to insure and protect the existence of this new Republic, a Treaty of Guarantee was signed by Great Britain, Greece and Turkey. Pursuant to the terms of this Treaty, the independence, territorial integrity and security of the newly created Republic were guaranted. It was the intention of the guarantors to prevent the partition or annexation of Cyprus by any foreign power.

The Turkish Cypriot community ferverently hoped that the central government established by this Constitution would abide by its terms. They hoped that the system of checks and balances contained in the 1960 Constitution would protect their basic human rights and allow them to live in peace and prosperity. Turkish Cypriots hoped that their communal autonomy in matters relating to religion, education, cultural and family affairs would be preserved by the rule of law. Unfortunately, shortly after the creation of the Republic, their hopes were betrayed and their worst fears were realized.

The very men elected to office under the new Constitution betrayed the terms of that Constitution and attempted to use their governmental authority to attain a goal which they had officially renounced. that goal being Enosis, union with Greece

Archbishop Makarios, the first elected President of the new Republic, never abandoned his commitment to Enosis. He revealed his attitude toward the Turkish population of Cyprus on September 14, 1962 when he publicly stated:

"Unless, this small Turkish community forming a part of the Turkish race which has been the terrible enemy of Hellenism is expelled, the duty of the heroes of Eoka could never be considered as terminated."

EOKA was the terrorist organization which had fought for the independence of Cyprus from Great Britain. EOKA guns were then turned against the Turkish Cypriots in a campaign of fear and intimidation

In November of 1963 President Makarios proposed constitutional amendments

which were intended to deprive the Turkish Cypriots of their basic Constitutional rights. When the Turkish Cypriot community rejected these amendments, inter-communal violence erupted.

It is now clear that the Constitutional amendments and subsequent violence directed against the Turkish Cypriot community were orchestrated and implemented pursuant to a written program generally known as the "Akritis Plan". This plan has been described as a program intended to effectuate the dissolution of the Republic of Cyprus leading to the union of that nation with Greece. The plan was created by the Greek Cypriot leadership and the chief "Akritis" was the Administrator of the Interior of the Republic of Cyprus, Polykarpos Yorgadjis who publicly proclaimed:

> "There is no place in Cyprus for anyone who is not Greek, who does not think Greek and who does not constantly feel Greek."

Between 1963 and 1974 364 Turkish Cypriots were killed and more than one quarter of the Turkish Cypriot population fled their homes seeking protection in armed enclaves.

Between 1963 and 1974 the Turkish Cypriot community was systematically deprived of basic constitutional and human rights. For example, Turkish Cypriot representatives to the unicameral legislature were prevented from participating in the government. Under the guise of maintaining "law and order", the Turkish Cypriot community was subjected to an economic blockade, a blockade which continues to this very day. The Secretary General of the United Nations observed that these economic restrictions amounted to a "veritable siege" and that the government of Cyprus was seeking to "force a potential solution by economic pressure as a substitute for military action."

The Turkish Cypriot community was deprived of basic building materials, food, clothing, electricity and basic sanitary services. Its mail was interrupted and when restored, was subject to stringent censorship. All of these violations of Cypriot law were perpetrated by the very people who had sworn allegiance to the Constitution of the new Republic. As is so often the case, the victims of intentional discrimination were portrayed as dangerous criminals who had to be suppressed for the welfare of the State.

In December of 1967, a provisional Turkish Cypriot administration was established to preserve the integrity, safety and well being of the Turkish Cypriot community.

By 1970, Archbishop Makarios realized that the goal of Enosis would not be easily attained in view of the commitment of the Turkish Cypriots to their constitution and the commitment of the Republic of Turkey to its Treaty obligations.

Between 1970 and 1974 terrorists dedicated to Enosis mounted attacks against moderate Greek Cypriots as well as Turkish Cypriots and plotted the assassination of Archbishop Makarios. Finally, in 1974, a coup-de-etat removed President Makarios from power and installed Nikos Sampson as the new "President" of the Republic. Sampson had won election to the Greek Cypriot House of Representatives in 1969 on the slogan: "Death to the Turks".

The rise to power of this fanatical anti-Turkish racist destroyed all remaining illusions about the rule of law in Cyprus. It was clear to the Turkish Cypriots that they were in immediate peril. Acting pursuant to the 1960 Treaty of Guarantee, Turkey requested the British government to cooperate with it in enforcing the provisions of that Treaty. Britain refused. The United States government was contacted, but its response was ambivalent and imprecise. The formal demise of the Republic of Cyprus seemed imminent. Turkish Cypriots knew from their history that there was a very real possibility that they would be attacked by Greek forces and

either forcefully evicted from their homeland or eliminated in a bloodbath of unprecedented proportions.

In the face of this extreme provocation, the Turkish government reacted. It ordered its military forces to carry out a "peace operation" for the express purpose of preserving the independence of Cyprus and protecting the Turkish Cypriot community from armed aggression.

Turkish intervention provoked an immediate and hostile response in the United States. The infamous and counterproductive arms embargo of 1974 was a direct result of Turkish intervention. It is truly ironic that the Turkish intervention which provoked such a harsh reaction in America was later described by the Athens Court of Appeals in a decision issued March 21, 1979 as follows:

> "The Turkish military intervention in Cyprus which was carried out in accordance with Zurich and London accords was legal. Turkey as one of the guarantor powers had the right to fulfill her obligations. The real culprits...are the Greek officers who engineered and directed the coup and prepared the conditions for this intervention."

Between 1974 and 1983 the situation in Cyprus stabilized. With the Turkish community free of violence and intimidation an atmosphere conducive to negotiations prevailed. Unfortunately, the Greek Cypriots were secure in their belief that they enjoyed American sympathy and support and refused meaningful negotiations. They insisted upon a return to the status quo ante bellum as a precondition to negotiations. In view of the past history of violence and flagrant disregard of basic human rights exhibited by the Greek Cypriot government this bargaining stand was unacceptable to the Turkish Cypriot community.

By 1983 it was obvious that Greek intransigence would prevent a just and lasting settlement of the Cyprus dispute. Turkish Cypriots felt compelled to take dramatic steps in an attempt to break the nine year old bargaining deadlock. They knew that the Republic of Cyprus no longer really existed. Not a single Turk held office in the unicameral legislature. There was no Turkish Vice-President. The National Police Force was entirely Greek and every government official was Greek.

On November 15, 1983 the Turkish Cypriot population declared statehood. The Congress of the United States viewed this event with dismay and hostility. Turkey was denounced and military assistance to one of our most strategically important NATO Allies was substantially reduced. Congress believed that reducing foreign assistance to Turkey would be an effective method of forcing a resolution to the Cyprus problem. History has shown us that this belief was mistaken. Turkey remained steadfast in its support of the Turkish Cypriot community and the Turkish Cypriots have remained steadfast in their dedication to freedom. Turkey has recognized the existence of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus while simultaneously advocating meaningful negotiations in seeking an ultimate resolution of the Cyprus dispute.

In every year since 1983, Greek and Greek Cypriot lobbyists have advocated sharp cutbacks in American military and economic assistance to Turkey based upon the continuing presence of Turkish military forces in Northern Cyprus. They claim that the presence of these troops in Cyprus is a prime example of Turkish hostility toward Greece and Turkish disregard for the international rule of law. They also claim that left to their own devices, the Greek and Turkish Cypriots could sort out their own problems and fashion a solution to this long standing problem. Unfortunately, the Greek government of Cyprus never officially renounced Enosis. The economic embargo imposed in the 1960's continues today, and as recently as last summer, the Greek government of Cyprus denied electricity and water to their Turkish neighbors. Looking at these recent events one cannot help but wonder, what has changed?

Those who say that Greek attitudes towards Turkish Cypriots have moderated since 1963 must overlook such recent expressions of hostility as those uttered in late 1992 in an editorial which appeared in a Greek Cypriot newspaper:

> "Turks are a barbarous people. They are the last Barbarians of civilization a people with violent instincts and a thirst for blood. We would rather live with savage animals than with Turks. Until the Turks digest that Cyprus is Greek, they cannot live in this country as a minority. And our slogan cannot be anything else but 'The best Turk is a dead Turk." The union of Cyprus with Greece is the only Democratic solution to the Cyprus problem. No to the talks, no to the federation, Enosis and let the channels fill with the flow of blood."

During his last reelection campaign, Greek Cypriot President Cleridies promised his electorate that he would "cleanse the north" of Turkish forces and Turkish settlers while proudly proclaiming his membership in the infamous terrorist organization EOKA. He also promised to return Cyprus to its pre-1974 condition.

While these events transpired, United States foreign policy has remained fairly constant toward Cyprus. Various United States Administrations have urged intercommunal negotiations and moderation. They have consistently refused to acknowledge the validity or existence of the self-proclaimed Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. This American foreign policy has failed to force a settlement.

A bi-zonal, bi-communal federated Republic has been advocated as the ultimate solution to the Cyprus problem. In order to establish such a State, however, fundamental equality among the parties is essential. As it now stands, non-recognition of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus denies the Turkish Cypriot community an equal footing in the negotiations. The Greek Cypriots can remain committed to total victory because the U.S. recognizes that truncated government as the only legitimate government on the island. This is a failed policy that cannot be expected to bear fruit with the passage of time.

Perhaps we should heed the warning of President Woodrow Wilson which he delivered to a joint session of Congress on February 11, 1918:

> "National aspirations must be respected; peoples may now be dominated and governed only by their own consent. 'Self-determination' is not a mere phrase. It is an imperative principle of action, which statesman will henceforth ignore at their peril."

Article 1 of the United Nations Charter states that a fundamental purpose of that organization is to "...encourage friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples...". In the "Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples" U.N. General Assembly Resolution No. 1514 the Assembly declared:

> "All peoples have the right to self-determination; by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development."

Given these clear enunciations of a basic principle of international law, why should the Turkish Cypriots, a distinct "people", be denied these rights? While it is clear that American recognition of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus would displease Greece and the Greek Cypriot government of Cyprus, it is equally clear that a continuation of the existing policy will not lead to an improved situation. Perhaps, if the U.S. recognizes the legal and political equality of the two Cypriot communities the shock of that recognition will jump-start these stalled negotiations and lead to a

final resolution.

A final resolution of the Cyprus problem will be most beneficial to our nation because it will help stabilize relations between Greece and Turkey by removing a potential flash-point of armed confrontation between two valued NATO allies. A just and final resolution will also benefit the international community because it will lead to the withdrawal of the U.N Peacekeeping Force that has been stationed on that island since intercommunal hostilities erupted in the 1960's. It is obvious that the U.N. has enough to do without maintaining peace keepers in Cyprus. But none of these beneficial results can occur unless the two peoples of Cyprus can find a just and lasting peace based on equality and democratic principles.

Ironically, those democratic principles are evident in Cyprus in both the north and the south. While most nations in the troubled Middle East struggle with the form of government that they wish to have, both the Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots have established democratic governments with popularly elected legislatures, elected executive branches and appointed independent judiciaries. If the need for ethnic dominance can be subordinated to the need for peace, justice and prosperity, there is hope for a stable democracy in Cyprus, a land where the roots of democracy are not alien importations from the west.

It is respectfully submitted that United States security interests are best served when our nation is loyal to its ideals. Clearly, those ideals embody respect for the right of peoples to determine their own political affiliations. Those ideals include fair play and justice for all under law. It is respectfully submitted that we can best serve those ideals and move the Cyprus issue toward a final resolution by abandoning the failed policies of the past and embarking upon a courageous new course regarding Cyprus.

Respectfully submitted,

JOSEPH D. YOUSSOUF

AHI-PAC

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July 18, 1995

The Honorable Benjamin A. Gilman
United States House of Representatives
2185 Rayburn House Office Building
S. Capitol St. & Independence Avenues, S.E.
Washington, D. C. 20515

Dear Congressman Gilman:

I am enclosing a copy of an Icon known as The Virgin Chrysotrimithiotissa which, for decades, was the Jewel adorning the Iconostasis of the church that bore its name in the village of Trimithi which is situated in the now occupied Kyrneia district.

The soldiers of Attila, proving their ferocity and mania for destruction, removed the Icon from its Placeturate and on it wrote the profanity, "Tektie," which translates "Harlot." They also bayoneted not only the face of the Virgin, but also Baby Jesus that appears on the Icon in the hands of his mother.

It is common knowledge that on July 20, 1974 barbaric and bloody Turkey invaded Cyprus killing, raping, and pillaging and in the half of Cyprus now enslaved they tried and still try to erase all evidence of Greek Christian culture. I would like this to be put in evidence in the record.

I wonder how civilized Christian nations of the world accept this kind of behavior.

I remain

Respectfully yours,

TAKEY CRIST
President
AHI-PAC

TC:jg

Enclosure

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"THE SACRED OFFERED TO THE DOGS"

It is common knowledge that on the 20th July 1974 barbaric and bloody Turkey invaded Cyprus, killing, raping and pillaging and in the half of Cyprus now enslaved, they tried and still try to erase all evidence of Greek Christian Culture.

Churches were obliterated by the Turkish Attila.

An important example of Turkish brutality is the miraculous icon of the Virgin known as "Chrysotrimithiotissa", which for decades was the Jewel adorning the iconostasis of the church that bore its name, in the village of Trimithi, which is situated in the now occupied Kyrenia district.

The soldiers of Attila proving their ferocity and mania for destruction removed the icon from its placeturate and on it wrote the profanity "TEKTIE" ("HARLOT"). They also bayonated not only the face of the Virgin but also baby Jesus that appears on the icon in the hands of his mother.

They defaced it with the number 73-2 which probably refers to some barbarus Turkish soldier enlisted in the army of Attila.

Furthermore they then took the icon and threw it into a precipice breaking it.

The icon was later discovered and brought into free Cyprus by a tourist.

Consequently the sacred item of the Greek Cypriot inhabitants living in those areas now occupied by Attila were "offered to the dogs" as the Bible says.

We wander how Civilized Christian nations of the world accept this?

STATEMENT BY EUGENE T. ROSSIDES
ON BEHALF OF
AMERICAN HELLENIC INSTITUTE PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE,
THE CYPRUS FEDERATION OF AMERICA, INC.,
THE HELLENIC AMERICAN NATIONAL COUNCIL,
THE PAN LACONIAN FEDERATION OF U.S.A. AND CANADA,AND
THE PAN PONTIAN FEDERATION OF U.S.A AND CANADA,
SUBMITTED
THE HOUSE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE
REGARDING IT'S HEARINGS ON CYPRUS, JULY 19, 1995

Chairman Gilman and Members of the Committee:

I appreciate the opportunity to submit this statement on behalf of the aforementioned organizations regarding the Committee's hearings on Cyprus.

We fully support the demilitarization of Cyprus as in the best interests of the United States.

However, the passage by the Committee of H.Con.Res. 42, the demilitarization bill, without including enforcement provisions is not enough. To be effective, the bill needs to be amended to include conditions and sanctions on Turkey if she continues to refuse to remove her illegal occupation forces.

Hearings on H.R. 1274, The Turkish Human Rights Compliance Act

We urge the Committee to hold hearings on H.R. 1274, the Turkish Human Rights Compliance Act. The demilitarization issue is embodied in H.R. 1274, introduced with bipartisan support by Congressman Rob Andrews on March 23, 1995.

H.R. 1274, which has 22 co-sponsors to date, proposes cutting U.S. aid to Turkey by $500,000 a day until Turkey:

1) allows free and unfettered monitoring of the human the human rights situation within its territory by domestic and international human rights monitoring organizations, including but not limited to, the Turkish Human Rights Association, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Amnesty International,and Human Rights Watch;

2) recognizes the civil, cultural, and human rights of its Kurdish citizens, ceases its military operations against Kurdish civilians, and takes demonstrable steps toward a peaceful resolution of the Kurdish issue;

3) takes demonstrable steps toward the total withdrawal of Turkish troops from Cyprus and demonstrates its support for a settlement recognizing the sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity of Cyprus, with a constitutional democracy based on majority rule, the rule of law, and protection of minority rights;

4) removes its blockade of U.S. and international assistance to Armenia; and

5) removes official restrictions on Christian churches and schools and offers sufficient protection against acts of violence and harassment directed at members of the clergy, and offers sufficient protection against acts of vandalism directed at church and school property.

The government of Cyprus is committed to the demilitarization of its forces if Turkey agrees to remove her troops.

When the Porter, Smith , Wolf amendment to the Foreign Aid Bill passed on the House floor at 5:45 a.m. on June 29, 1995, the numerous substantive arguments in support of that amendment made on the House floor that morning apply equally to H.R. 1274.

Therefore, we encourage this Committee to seize the opportunity created by very substantial support for the Porter, Smith, Wolf amendment and hold hearings on H.R. 1274.

Turkey's invasion of Cyprus in 1974 with the illegal use of American supplied arms and equipment and Turkey's illegal occupation and colonization of 37.3% of Cyprus for 21 years are a stain on the Western Alliance (NATO) and U.S. foreign policy, and a violation of U.S. laws, the United Nations Charter (Art.2 para.4), the NATO Treaty (Preamble and Art. 1) and international law.

Turkey's violations of the human rights of the Greek Cypriots have now been going on for 21 years, today!

Cyprus is important to U.S. interests. It is strategically located in the Eastern Mediterranean. The British bases on Cyprus were very important in the Persian Gulf War, more important than the NATO air base in Incirlik, Turkey. The Government of Cyprus cooperated fully with the U.S. and the Coalition forces. The British air base on Cyprus, among others, can provide facilities for Operation Provide Comfort for the Kurds in Iraq, if necessary.

Mr. Chairman, we seek for Cyprus what then Vice President Bush sought when he made the following statement as Presidential Candidate on July 7, 1988:

> *We seek for Cyprus a constitutional democracy based on majority rule, the rule of law, and the protection of minority rights...I want to see a democratic Cyprus free from the threat of war.*

Hearings To Reassess U.S.-Turkish Relations

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Further, we encourage this Committee to consider holding hearings to reevaluate and to provide a critical review of our relationship with Turkey. Topics to be discussed would include:

1. the myth and reality of Turkey's national security value to the U.S.;
2. the myth and reality of Turkey as an ally;
3. the many reasons why it is not in the interests of the United States to give military and economic aid to Turkey;
4. Turkey's horrendous human rights record;
5. Turkey's illegal blockade of Armenia;
6. religious freedom in Turkey and Turkey's continued restrictions on the Ecumenical Patriarchate and Christian communities and churches generally, and its illegal closing of the Orhodox Christian Theological School in Halki in 1971;
7. the double standard on the rule of law and human rights for Turkey; and
8. Turkey's several U.S. "agents of influence" paid for by U.S. tax dollars, since money is fungible.

We concur with the views of Senator D'Amato (R-NY) who, on October 26, 1974, expressed his "alarm over recent Turkish provocation's against Greece and Cyprus, as well as the domestic turmoil brewing within its borders." Senator D'Amato warned that "the United States may need to reassess its relationship with Turkey." He stated:

> Reports that Turkey is seeking to inflame tensions with Greece to distract its own citizens from devastating economic recession are causing great concern for the United States.
>
> Turkey has threatened war because Greece is exercising its lawful right to extend its territorial limits in the Aegean Sea. While Turkey has extended its own territorial limits in the Black Sea and along its southern Mediterranean coastline, it seeks to deny Greece that same right.
>
> ****
>
> Already, Congress remains rightfully concerned over Turkey's record of relentless human rights abuses, whether against its Kurdish population, journalists and pro-democracy activists.
>
> Importantly, Turkey's continued military occupation of Cyprus, its policy of systematic ethnic cleansing against Greek Cypriots, and its blatant violations of U.S. foreign assistance laws and numerous U.N. resolutions, all cause tremendous problems for United States interests in the Eastern Mediterranean.

> Compounded, these aggressive actions and repeated provocations will require a reassessment of U.S.-Turkish relations that is long overdue. This relationship can only continue within the context of respect for human rights, international sovereignty, and the rule of law. Turkey's very sorry record indicates it has a very long way to go.

Senator D'Amato has also "been critical of Turkey's refusal to apprehend and punish those who threaten to attack the Ecumenical Patriarchate."

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, passage of the H.R. 1274, The Turkish Human Rights Compliance Act, and a reassessment of our relationship with Turkey will convey to Turkey the seriousness of our concerns and lay the necessary foundation for real progress towards a negotiated settlement of the Cyprus problem.

Thank you.

○

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